WAR DEPARTMENT EDUCATION MANUAL • EM 201

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American History

Course Two

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Democracy's Coming of Age

1840-1942

Based on America: Its History and People

by Harold Underwood Faulkner

and Tyler Kepner

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P 2062 a

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12 February, 1944

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How to Use This Book

Introduction:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed . . ." Over the past 100 years what have these words that Thomas Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence in 1776 come to mean to the American people?

The authors of this book have tried to answer this question by describing democracy's battle against the forces of special privilege during the past 100 years here in the United States. As you read you will learn that democracy's battle was fought not only at Bunker Hill, Saratoga, or at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, or at Chateau-Thierry, or more recently at Guadalcanal, Tarawa, the mountain passes of Italy and in the air over Germany. You will find that democracy has ever-present enemies within, against whom the forces of the average citizen have been struggling constantly. Who are these enemies? What tactics and strategies do they use? How have they been met and sometimes defeated?

In short, how have "We the People" strived to check the efforts of special interests of all kinds, to the end that we may " . . . promote the general Welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity"?

Study Procedures:

In an attempt to provide means for you to get the most out of this course in American History the following general program of study is suggested:

1. *Read each chapter carefully*: Begin by looking at the several boldface paragraph headings throughout the chapter. This will give you a general idea of the contents of the chapter and will help you to understand relationships as you read. Give careful attention to pictures, maps, charts

and any other illustration material as you read. These are included for a definite purpose. When you have finished reading the chapter, try to recall principal facts and their relationship to each other. Reread any parts of the chapter that did not seem clear.

2. *Complete the self-checking exercises*: When you think you have mastered the contents of the chapter, complete the exercises and assignments that are provided. Follow the instructions given for these exercises and assignments carefully. These exercises and assignments have been designed to bring out significant facts and ideas. A key to answers is provided at the end of the book for all exercises except "Correspondence or Class Assignments." Check your answers by means of the key. The numbers in the parentheses in the key indicate the paragraphs containing the answers. If you made any errors, check the textbook for the correct answers.

3. *Correspondence or Class Assignments*: After each set of self-checking exercises in your book is a group of "Correspondence or Class Assignments." If you are a regularly enrolled student in the USAFI and want help from an instructor as you work through this course, write out your answers to these assignments as you come to them and send the answers to the United States Armed Forces Institute at Madison, Wisconsin, or to a branch of the Institute if there is one nearer than Madison. Be sure to enclose your name and address, the title and number of this manual, and the numbers of the pages on which the assignments appear together with the number of the particular exercise or assignment.

You will receive from the Institute the suggestions of an instructor who has been over your work. He may be able to help you overcome any difficulties you are having with the course. *You are not obliged to send in these assignments.* They are included only for your help and convenience.

If you are working in a class under an instructor, the assignments may be used for outside written work or for class discussion. In any case, read through these assignments. If you are doubtful about the answers to any of them re-study your text until you are sure you could prepare satisfactory answers.

4. *Course Essay*: When you have completed Course Two you should turn in an essay of 1000 to 2000 words at the time you take your End-of-Course Test. You should not wait until you have completed the course before writing this essay. Begin your essay when you have completed the first half of the course. The following topics are suggested: (a) The Influence of the Solid South upon American Politics; (b) The Tragic Era; (c) Third Party Movements and Reform; (d) The Master Strategy of the War between the States; (e) The Political Idealism and

Practices of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt Compared; (f) Extension of Political Democracy; (g) Special Interests and Pressure Groups in American Politics; (h) The Tariff as a Political Issue; (i) Milestones of Progress in American Political Life; (j) The Conflict between Political Idealism and the Party Machine.

5. *Suggested Readings*: The books listed at the end of each chapter and in Appendix III should be of interest to you. If library facilities are available, ask for these books. There may be other books available that will serve the same purpose.

6. *Some Significant Events in American History*: Appendix II, contains a list of events and their dates. You will find this list very helpful if you will go over it frequently. Some events mentioned are not discussed in this book. Such items are listed, however, to give you an over-all picture of our history.

7. *Half-Course Review and Self-Check*: When you have completed the reading of the first four chapters in this book, check your progress by means of the Half-Course Review and Self-Check. A key is provided for this Review. The roman numerals in the parentheses refer to the chapter numbers and the arabic numerals to the paragraphs in the chapters. If you make any errors, check the textbook for the correct answers.

8. *Course Review and Self-Check*: When you have completed the entire book check your understanding of the major facts and ideas brought out in the Course by means of the Course Review and Self-Check. This should tell you if you are ready for the End-of-Course Test. Follow the directions given above for the Half-Course Review and Self-Check.

9. *End-of-Course Test*: By the time you have completed the first six chapters of this course, you should apply to the United States Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin, or to the nearest branch office for your End-of-Course Test. If you do not have an application blank for this test, ask your Educational Services Officer, your Special Service Officer, or your Librarian to supply you with one.

Before you actually ask the officer who is to supervise your taking the End-of-Course Test for permission to take the test, you should complete the Course Review and Self-Check after Chapter VIII of this textbook. If this check-up indicates that you need a review before taking the test, review carefully. You will then be certain that you can complete the test satisfactorily.

By taking the End-of-Course Test you can obtain a Certificate of Proficiency for this course. This Certificate is issued to let you know how well you have done the work of the course.

Should you need a record of your educational experience for use in qualifying for a job, write to the Commandant, Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin, or to the nearest branch office of the Institute; or consult your Educational Services Officer, Special Service Officer, or Librarian.

10. *Additional Courses in American History*: This course is a continuation of the account of our political development described in Course One. Our economic history is described in Course Three. Our social and cultural history and the development of our foreign relations are described in Course Four. These additional courses may be obtained, in their appropriate order, by applying to the United States Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin, or to the nearest overseas branch of the Institute.

11. *Study Groups*: While these courses in American History have been designed to enable you to study entirely by yourself, you will profit by group study where it is practical, either with or without an instructor. Discussion with others taking these courses will help you to develop your knowledge and ideas about the history of your own country.

CHAPTER I

Sectionalism Endangers National Unity

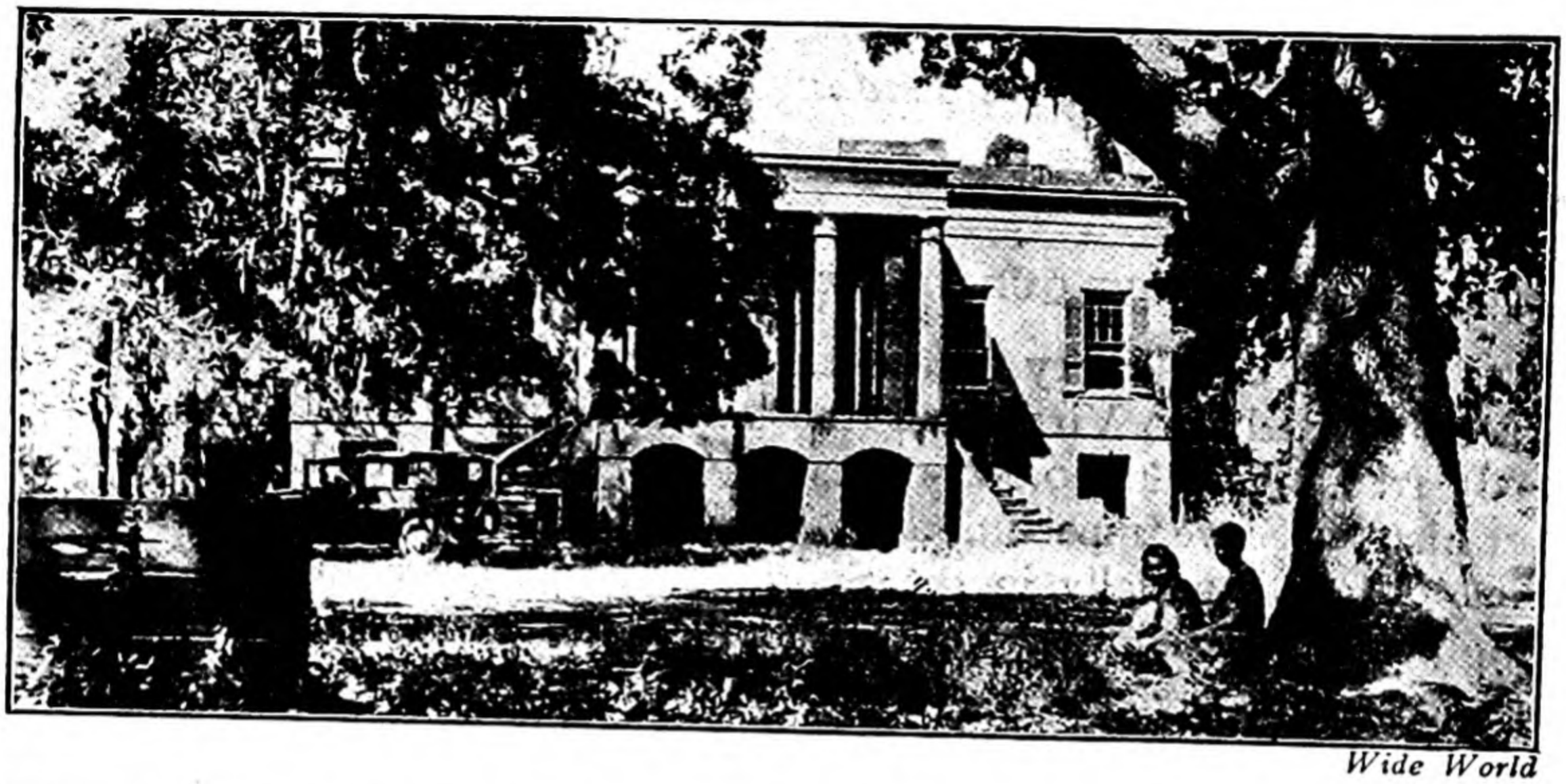
THE SLAVE QUESTION ENTERS NATIONAL POLITICS

1. **Origin of Slavery as an Institution.** In 1619 20 Negro slaves were imported into Virginia. From that time until Amendment XIII in 1865 freed about 4,000,000 slaves, slavery was more or less an issue in our history. Slave importations at first were few, but by 1700 the need of cheap labor, especially in the South, made slave trading profitable to English and American traders. By the eve of the Revolution there were at least 300,000 slaves in the country, and some estimates run over a half-million. In some Southern Colonies at this time the slaves equaled or exceeded the number of whites, and in several of the Middle Colonies slaves made up one-fifth or one-sixth of the population. Even in New England they were found in small numbers as household servants. By this time, then, slavery was an established fact—a system of *forced* labor fastened upon the colonies for good or for ill. This type of labor was necessary, some in the South insisted, for the growing of tobacco, rice, indigo and sugar.

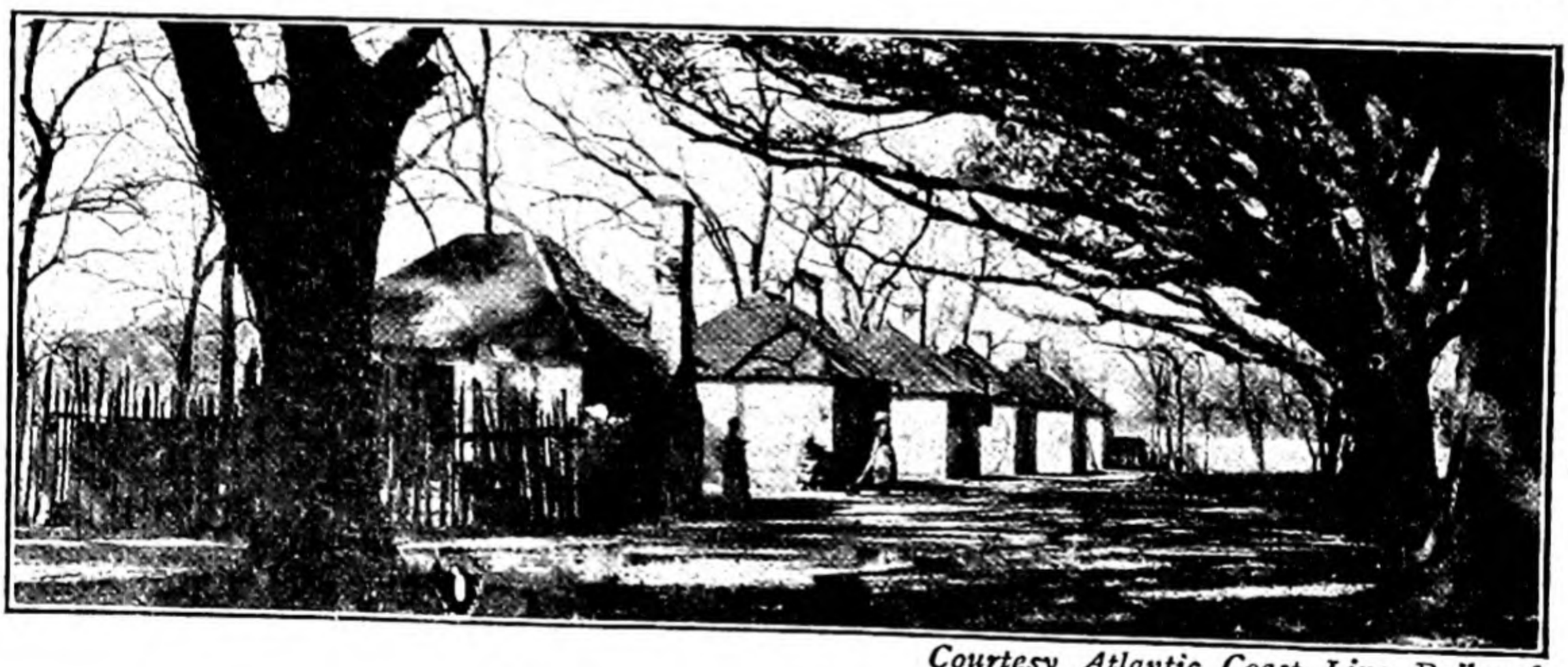
The struggle for human rights during the Revolution had its effect upon public opinion on the slave question. By 1787 seven states (New England, New York and Pennsylvania) had either abolished slavery or were taking steps in that direction. Even in the South many slaveholders, questioning the profitableness of slave labor, were casting about for a safe way out. The Ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory, reflected the anti-slavery feeling of the time. Many of the early leaders were opposed to slavery, and both Washington and Jefferson provided in their wills for the freeing of their slaves. With the beginning of the Republic slavery was a dying institution. But with the invention of the cotton gin (1793) by Eli Whitney and the consequent rapid spread of cotton growing in the South, it was speedily revived.

2. **The North and South Fundamentally Different.** Influenced by geographic factors beyond man's control, the North and South developed fundamentally different economic systems in the half-century closing in 1850. The North, as we have seen, became industrial. The South devoted

itself to a plantation-slave system of agriculture. If southern civilization at this time could be reduced to one word, it would be *cotton*. Cotton became the chief crop in the South, and it made slavery profitable as long as new lands were available for expansion. The demand for cotton from



Wide World



Courtesy Atlantic Coast Line Railroad

WHEN COTTON WAS KING

This Plantation Home, the "Hermitage," was formerly near Savannah, but is now on the plantation of Henry Ford at Richmond, Georgia. A model of architecture in the period before the War between the States, it is a reminder of the slaveholding aristocracy—the Old South. The Slave Quarters of the "Hermitage" picture the other side of Slavocracy.

overseas and from the North became so great that the South made every effort to produce it on an ever larger scale. By 1850 the cotton output had increased thirtyfold and by 1860 more than fiftyfold compared with 1800, and represented seven-eighths of the world's supply. Cotton, valued at

more than $190,000,000, constituted more than 57 per cent of the country's exports in 1860. "Cotton is King," proudly proclaimed the South.

THE PLANTATION-SLAVE SOUTH. But such extraordinary growth only tended to fasten slavery more firmly upon the South. As demands for cotton steadily mounted, the planter demanded more slaves and more land, and the more land the more slaves. In 1850 it was estimated that three-fourths of all slaves engaged in agriculture were found in cotton culture. By the middle 'thirties the cotton belt had shifted. Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama were raising more cotton than South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia, and by 1860 Texas had outdistanced South Carolina. To meet the demand for slaves, the border or most northerly slave states engaged actively in slave raising and slave trading. The average value of a prime field hand in 1830 was about $800; by 1860 the price more than doubled.

There were comparatively few slaveholding planters, but they wielded power out of all proportion to their numbers. Only one southern white in 75 held more than ten slaves in 1860, and only one in 4500 owned 100 or more slaves. Although, by 1860, approximately three-fourths of the southern whites had no direct interest in slavery, the power and political leadership of the slaveholding aristocracy were such that "Slavocracy" molded the opinion of the South.

The Cotton Kingdom composed a five-point program: (1) opposition to protective tariffs, (2) opposition to a "third" United States Bank, (3) opposition to federal internal improvements, (4) the right of unrestricted expansion of slavery into the territories, and (5) a strict construction of the Constitution. So wedded were the planters to the one-crop cotton culture that Southerners were little interested in establishing manufacturing in the Southland.

THE INDUSTRIAL NORTH. Meanwhile the Industrial Revolution was speedily transforming the North into an industrial-commercial section, and creating a "capitalist" class made up of manufacturers, merchants, financiers and shippers, for the North carried almost all the commerce of the South. The economic system of the North was based upon free labor. The North's political program was directly opposed to the South's. The North was (1) for protective tariffs, (2) for a third Bank, (3) for internal improvements to link the East and the West, (4) for loose construction of the Constitution, and (5) opposed to slavery extension into the territories.

What the two sections had in common was lost to sight in the differences of opinion created by the fact that they worked, lived and, therefore thought, differently on political, social and economic questions. Here,

then, were the seeds of the old Jefferson-Hamilton conflict. Agriculture and industry tended to array themselves against each other under the Democrats and the Whigs. The times were new, but the issues were old. The leadership was new, but it quoted the old leaders. The stage setting alone was different. In this rising sectional struggle the South won the first skirmishes, for it had reduced the tariff between 1833 and 1842, prevented the establishment of another Bank, and under Jackson's veto internal improvements at federal expense were stopped. The North, however, had scored a victory in the struggle over the expansion of slavery in the new territory.

3. The Missouri Compromise and National Politics. The drawing of a "geographical line" at 36° 30′ north latitude within the Louisiana Territory, exclusive of Missouri, had settled the issue temporarily, but in favor of the North. Both sides had hoped that the troublesome problem was settled for all time. But could lines on a map separate two competing civilizations? Cobb of Georgia gave one answer at the time of the Missouri Compromise (1820). "You have kindled a fire," he said in the House, "which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, which seas of blood can only extinguish."

Destined not to be permanent, the compromise was important in focusing the country's attention upon the issue of slavery expansion for the first time. Slavery was in national politics, and it was in to stay for almost a half-century more. Like prohibition later, slavery was to be attacked and defended upon moral, political and economic grounds. It was to divide one party, smash another, and defeat wavering presidential candidates. It split churches and even families, for neutrality on the issue became an impossibility.

4. The Abolitionists and Anti-slavery Agitation. The early attempts of the South to solve the baffling question of human slavery had resulted in the founding of the American Colonization Society (1817). The purpose of the organization was the *gradual* emancipation of the slaves and their return to Africa, where in Liberia a colony was established and given some governmental encouragement. But the increasing value of slaves to cotton culture caused the movement to fail, for by 1830 few more than 1000 Negroes had been transported. As a new generation of planters grew up in the Lower South, slavery ceased to be a moral question with them and became one of economic necessity. About the time that anti-slavery feeling seemed to be dying out, radical reformers, principally in the North, took up the agitation and demanded *immediate* abolition of slavery on moral grounds.

The most unyielding foe of slavery was William Lloyd Garrison, a young, penniless and friendless agitator who set the country aflame, but

who probably did more in the end to unite the South in defense of slavery than to create northern opposition to it. On January 1, 1831, *The Liberator* appeared on the streets of Boston from Garrison's press, which declared that the principles of "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" in the Declaration of Independence applied to the black slave as much as to the whites. When reminded by the South that the Constitution recognized slavery, Garrison, at an abolitionist meeting near Boston on July 4, 1854, dramatically burned a copy of the Constitution which he had previously branded as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell."

Garrison's campaign made converts. Local abolition societies sprang up, increasing from 200 in 1835 to 2000 in 1840, with nearly 200,000 members. Prominent literary men—Whittier, Longfellow and Emerson—and powerful ministers joined the movement. On the whole, however, the extreme agitation was not wanted by northern business men. Why disturb business and possibly break up the Union by fussing over a matter that was a southern affair anyway, reasoned the rank and file in the north. Radicals were treated roughly. Garrison in 1835 was dragged through Boston streets with a rope around his neck and was spared from a worse fate only by the timely interference of the police. Two years later another abolitionist editor was murdered in Alton, Illinois, by a mob, and his presses smashed.

5. **Anti-slavery Political Parties.** Such agitation naturally had its echo in Congress. Petitions began pouring in on Congress from the North, and the South in self-defense had the House adopt the "gag resolution" (1836). This resolution provided that all petitions relating to slavery "be laid upon the table and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." Thus was the sacred right of petition denied. The venerable ex-President, John Q. Adams, member of Congress from Massachusetts, now rose to the height of his honorable career by fighting for constitutional rights [86].[1] No friend of abolition, he nevertheless became its chief hope in Congress as for eight years he dramatically continued to introduce "bundles" of petitions, only to have them tabled. In the end the South, realizing it was making more abolitionists than Garrison, repealed the gag rule (1844).

In his war on slavery Garrison advised all abolitionists to refrain from coöperation with the government, and to forego voting and all political participation. On this issue his followers were to divide. One group wanted to form a political party pledged to fighting slavery with ballots. The result was the appearance of the Liberty party upon the political horizon in the election of 1840. Although this party regarded slavery as

[1] Figures in heavy-faced type in brackets refer to paragraph headings in the Constitution, Appendix I.

a state issue, it demanded its *immediate abolition in the territories* where federal power over slavery existed. Its candidate, Birney, received only 7000 votes in a total vote of 2,400,000, but by 1844 the Liberty party was to increase its vote ninefold.

After the addition of considerable southwestern territory as a result of the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, the question of the restriction of slavery came to have new meaning. Both the Democrats and Whigs now found opposition within their parties to the extension of slavery. In 1848 "bolters" from both major parties, the Liberty men and others opposed to the *further extension of slavery into the territories*, formed the Free Soil party. Pledging no interference with slavery within the states, they proclaimed: "No more slave States and no more slave territory . . . no more compromises with slavery. . . . We inscribe on our banner, 'Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men.'" The Free Soil party with Van Buren as candidate polled less than 300,000 votes. Destined to another defeat (1852) and then extinction, its "free soil" policy was to become famous in another decade as a principle of a new Republican party.

6. Slavocracy's Defense. The sharp attacks upon the Cotton Kingdom's "local institution" goaded southern clergymen, writers, college professors and political leaders into a united defense of slavery. Calhoun was the South's spokesman in the Senate. The South directed its verbal shafts at the North, and its argument was something like this:

Slavery is as old as civilization itself. As for the morality of slavery, is it not sufficient that the Bible sanctions it? And does not the Constitution legalize it? The inferiority of the African naturally makes him a subject of a more advanced race. These are the lessons of history. There's no getting away from them, and sentimental fanatics can't change them. Now, please be reasonable and fair in your judgments upon us and our institution, and by all means examine the record. Proudly we can say that we have raised the slave from savagery to Christian civilization and have enabled him to earn a living free from the anxieties of unemployment. In his sickness we nurse him and in old age care for him. Can you say that much for your *free* laborers, slaves to ...tiful wages, machines and foul factories? Don't believe the wild stories about cruelty to slaves. If you had a thoroughbred horse for which you paid $1000, would you brutally beat him to death?

Don't you know that your industrial divi... ds and indeed the prosperity of the country are dependent indirectly on s... ry? Cheap slave labor means cheap cotton and cheap cotton means lower production costs for your capitalists.

Before it is too late, let's arrive at a gentleman's agreement. We have not attempted to inflame public opinion against your "wage slaves." All we

ask—and it's a reasonable request—is that you leave our slave system alone. We hasten to make no threats, but we do intend to keep our system of slavery.

The southern argument might have its weaknesses, but the important point is that the South believed in it. In time the constitutional and economic arguments became all-important. With Calhoun the South was convinced that slavery was not an evil but "a good—a positive good." Webster, the spokesman of the North, saw no constitutional solution, for he admitted that "this government has, constitutionally, nothing to do with slavery, as it exists in the States."

EXPANSION DISTURBS THE BALANCE OF POWER

7. Reannexation of Texas and Reoccupation of Oregon. In the 20 years between 1840 and 1860 the *expansion* of slavery into the territories, rather than *abolition*, dominated the political thought of the country. The influence of the westward movement in American life goes deep to the roots of our history, and during this period the westward march to the Pacific is inseparably bound up with the political "balance of power" of the states in the Senate. When Texas requested annexation to the United States, the question entered politics, for at the moment the balance of power stood at 13 free and 13 slave states. Jackson and Van Buren discreetly kept their hands off such political dynamite, but President Tyler attempted in 1844 to annex Texas by a treaty which was rejected by the Senate by a two-to-one vote in time to make annexation an issue in the election.

THE ELECTION OF 1844. While the treaty was being debated, the nominating conventions were in session. The Whigs nominated Clay. The Democrats made James K. Polk of Tennessee their candidate, thus running the first "dark horse."[1] The Whigs adopted a platform but failed to mention Texas. The Democrats on the contrary came out flat-footedly for the "reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas," implying that each originally belonged to us. No campaign issue was probably ever clearer. Clay went down to defeat before the Democrats whose expansionist policy appealed to both North and South. Polk won 170 electoral votes to Clay's 105, but had a popular plurality of less than 40,000. The Liberty party's vote of a little over 60,000 probably defeated Clay.

Before Polk could take office, Tyler, with Democratic support, brought

[1] A "dark horse," like an unexpected winner on the racetrack, is usually a little-known candidate who comes up from behind in the convention and wins the race against stronger competitors. Dark horses are frequently compromise candidates, colorless on issues but respectable, if commonplace, in person.

about the annexation of Texas (February, 1845) by a joint resolution of Congress, which required a simple majority vote of both houses instead of the two-thirds required for a treaty in the Senate (see map, fig. 1). When Texas (out of which not more than five states were to be carved) finally entered the Union at the close of 1845, the balance of power stood at 15 to 13 in favor of the South, for Florida had also become a state in the same year.

When the Democrats declared for the "reoccupation of Oregon," they wisely played upon a spirit of expansion which had taken hold of the American mind in the North as the "reannexation of Texas" had gripped southern thought. Fired by this "Manifest Destiny" or "eventually, why not now" policy of expansion, the country had elected the Democrats to power. Now President Polk terminated the joint occupation of the Oregon country agreed upon a generation earlier with Great Britain. Hotheads here called for the "Whole of Oregon," but gave way to compromise at the 49th parallel in the treaty of 1846. The political importance of the treaty with Britain lay in the fact that free interests now had a territory that would balance, in part at least, the slave area of Texas (see map, fig. 1). That the first state (Oregon) from the new Northwest was not to join the Union until the eve of the War between the States was not foreseen.

8. The Mexican War, 1846-48. Meanwhile, black clouds were gathering over the Rio Grande. The annexation of Texas had added insult to injury as far as Mexico was concerned and was in Mexican eyes "equivalent to a declaration of war against the Mexican Republic." The story of Polk's desire to round out our continental possessions and the American declaration of war upon Mexico (1846), characterized by some historians as a "war of conquest," will be told elsewhere. At this point we are concerned with the political backfires started by the war.

In the North there was little enthusiasm for the war and much opposition, especially from the Whigs. Whig newspapers were outspoken in their condemnation of the war as a "southern conspiracy" to gain more slave territory, and James Russell Lowell in his *Biglow Papers* freely denounced the war as a conquest in behalf of slavery. The truth of the matter was that the Whigs feared the political advantages that would fall to the Democrats as a result of the war. In the South some felt that Texas was enough new territory, but nevertheless the war was popular there. But greatest enthusiasm was found in the Mississippi Valley where restless souls were eager to gain more land from Mexico.

THE WILMOT PROVISO AND THE TREATY. That the shadow of slavery hovered over the Mexican War was made clear by action in the House with reference to appropriations desired by Polk in the negotia-

TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES
Date indicates when State ratified Constitution or when admitted to the Union
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
ORIGINAL AREA OF THE UNITED STATES
CESSION 1846
OREGON TERRITORY 1848
MEXICAN CESSION 1848
UTAH TERRITORY 1850
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY 1850
GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
CEDED BY TEXAS 1850
ANNEXATION OF TEXAS 1845
TEXAS 1845
LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1803
MINNESOTA TERRITORY 1849
WISCONSIN 1848
IOWA 1846
MISSOURI 1821
ARKANSAS 1836
ILLINOIS 1818
INDIANA 1816
OHIO 1803
KENTUCKY 1792
TENNESSEE 1796
MISSISSIPPI 1817
ALABAMA 1819
GEORGIA 1788
SOUTH CAROLINA 1789
NORTH CAROLINA 1789
VIRGINIA 1788
WEST VIRGINIA 1863
MARYLAND 1788
DELAWARE 1787
PENNSYLVANIA 1787
NEW JERSEY 1787
NEW YORK 1788
CONNECTICUT 1788
MASS. 1788
R.I. 1790
VT. 1791
N.H. 1788
MAINE 1820
FLORIDA PURCHASE 1819
FLORIDA 1845
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
CEDED BY U.S. IN 1818
CEDED BY GREAT BRITAIN IN 1818
BRITISH TREATY LINE OF 1846
LINE OF 1872
SPANISH TREATY LINE OF 1819
LINE OF 1819
LINE OF 1795
1810 1813
Vancouver
Columbia R.
Portland
San Francisco
Great Salt Lake
Salt Lake City
Santa Fe
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Rio Grande
Pecos R.
Red R.
Sabine R.
Missouri R.
Platte R.
Arkansas R.
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Alleghany R.
Rainy R.
Lake of the Woods
L. Nipigon
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
Mackinac
Detroit
Chicago
Cahokia
St. Louis
Marietta
Cincinnati
Washington
Philadelphia
New York
Boston
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
St. John R.
St. Croix R.
Charleston
Savannah
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
120° 115° 110° 105° 100° 95° 90° 85° 80° 75° 70°
45° 40° 35° 30°

FIG. 1

tion of the treaty. To such an appropriation bill David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, added an amendment known as the Wilmot Proviso. Under its terms "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part" of the territory to be acquired as a result of the war. The House approved the Proviso, but southern votes in the Senate defeated it each time it was presented. In these votes party lines were shattered as the South and North acted as units. Although never passed, the Proviso is important because it again dragged the issue of slavery expansion to a vote and indicated how the wind was blowing in both sections. Wilmot had upset the apple cart of slavery.

In the treaty the United States secured not only the disputed territory between the Nueces and Rio Grande Rivers, but also the vast Mexican Cession—present-day California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming—in return for which Mexico was paid $15,000,000, and some $3,000,000 of her debts were assumed by the United States. (See map, fig. 1.) Here was a new territory in which to stage the struggle between free and slave interests.

THE ELECTION OF 1848. Although in the Oregon treaty and Mexican Cession he had added a land area almost as great as the United States in 1783 or the Louisiana Territory in 1803, Polk was not renominated. The Democrats turned to Lewis Cass of Michigan, one of those "northern men with southern principles"; and the Whigs took Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, hero of the war and slaveholding planter but not a strong pro-slavery man. In fact, the general lacked definite views on all political issues and had not even voted for a number of years. There seemed to be no issue in the campaign, each party carefully sidestepping the real issue—the status of slavery in the newly acquired territories. All that was decided was that "a Whig general [Taylor] should be made president because he had done effective work in carrying on a Democratic war."

SLAVERY DOMINATES POLITICS FOR A DECADE

9. The Issue. The campaign had dodged the issue of slavery, but the Congress that met in December, 1849, could not. The admission of Iowa (1846) and Wisconsin (1848) had restored the balance of power at 15-15. Owing to the gold rush, California's growth was extraordinary, and by 1849 that state was knocking at congressional doors for admission as a *free* state. Oregon Territory had but recently been organized with slavery excluded, Congress having applied the anti-slavery provisions of the Northwest Ordinance. The South was now properly alarmed, for the admission of the free state of California would give control of the

Senate to the North. Moreover, the South was greatly agitated over the status of slavery in the Mexican Cession. The primary question that faced the country in the decade 1850-60 was *whether slavery should be extended or restricted.*

By 1850 leaders of both sections had presented four different solutions for consideration. (1) Calhoun, contending that slaves were property and therefore protected by the Constitution [90], believed that slavery could follow the Constitution and the flag into the territories without restriction. (2) The other extreme was total exclusion of slavery from the new territories—the doctrine of the Wilmot Proviso. (3) Another proposal was to extend the Missouri Compromise Line of 36°30′ to the Pacific. (4) The most important proposal was to submit the question to the people of the territories, who could vote for or against slavery when the constitution for statehood was prepared. This principle, later to be advocated by Stephen A. Douglas but not originated by him, was called "popular sovereignty" or "squatter sovereignty."

A new angle to the slave controversy appeared about 1850 when the North began to demand that slavery and the slave trade be wiped out of the District of Columbia. Quick to see the meaning of this entering wedge of emancipation, the South countered with a demand for a more effective fugitive-slave law. Thus the issues upon which the sections sought contrary solutions were clear enough.

10. The Compromise of 1850. For nine months (January-September, 1850) the greatest oratorical conflict of our history raged, as Calhoun from the South, Webster from the North, Clay from the western borderland, and younger men from these sections fought for sectional honor or love of Union. The proposal of compromise measures by the 73-year-old Clay gave the signal for the commencement of hostilities. For two days Clay pleaded eloquently for "concord, harmony, and peace" as against "heat, and passion, and intemperance," but emphatically denied the right of secession. Calhoun, too ill to speak, heard a fellow-Senator read his fiery speech in defense of his beloved South and her slave rights. The primary cause of the trouble, he contended, was the North's destruction of the balance between the sections. He reminded the North that the cords of Union were fast snapping, and that the Union could be saved only by the North recognizing the constitutional rights of the South and ceasing agitation on the slavery question. On such issues there could be no compromise. If the North insisted upon any other course, "let the States . . . agree to separate and part in peace." Within a month Calhoun's great voice was hushed by death.

Three days after Calhoun's speech against compromise, Webster made his famous "Seventh-of-March Speech" in favor of compromise, thus

reversing his previous stand on the expansion of slavery. He advised against a Wilmot Proviso solution and thought the South right in demanding a fugitive-slave law. The great orator questioned whether abolition societies were "useful," believed "peaceable secession" an undestined miracle, and eloquently begged the sectional Senators to turn to "the fresh air of Liberty and Union." Called a second Benedict Arnold for his "betrayal" of anti-slavery sentiment, Webster had placed love of Union above all else. A younger man, William H. Seward of New York, opposing the compromise, reminded his hearers that there was "a higher law than the Constitution"—the law of God which could not look kindly upon human bondage.

At length (in September, 1850) Congress in a fairly sectional vote accepted the compromise measures. The bills were approved by Fillmore who several months previously had succeeded to the Presidency upon Taylor's death. Clay and Webster had won their last great battle, for in two years these famous men were to be relieved of all earthly cares by death. The Compromise of 1850 provided the following solutions: (1) Admission of California as a free state, thus giving the North the balance of power, 16-15, which by the eve of the War between the States was to stand 18-15. (2) The remainder of the Mexican Cession was to be organized into the territories of Utah and New Mexico, separated by the parallel of 37°. (See map, fig. 2.) From these territories states "shall be received into the Union, *with or without* slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission." (3) The area of Texas was reduced by giving land to New Mexico territory, for which the United States paid Texas $10,000,000. (4) Slave *trade* was abolished in the District of Columbia, and (5) a drastic fugitive-slave bill was enacted.

11. **A Truce.** The spirit of concession had triumphed. As a concession to the moral feeling in the North, the slave trade was abolished in the nation's capital. On the other hand, a strict fugitive-slave law was given to the South, with power to enforce it reserved to *federal* courts and officials. The North got another state, but no restriction was placed on the South in the remainder of the new territory. If Texas yielded some western land, she also was generously paid. The heart of the compromise is found in the postponement of an answer concerning the status of slavery in New Mexico and Utah. That would be answered later; perhaps by that time slavery would no longer be an issue. Taken as a whole, the compromise does not quite balance. With California the North held the balance of power in the Senate and had an opportunity to get additional states from the Mexican Cession. Whatever was to happen later, a crisis in 1850 was avoided by the Compromise, and some historians hold that

the postponement of the armed conflict for ten years so strengthened the North that the Union could not then be broken.

With slavery provided for in every part of the territories, that troublesome issue seemed quieted if not solved. That the Compromise of 1850 should be final, in 1851 Clay and 44 others in Congress pledged "their

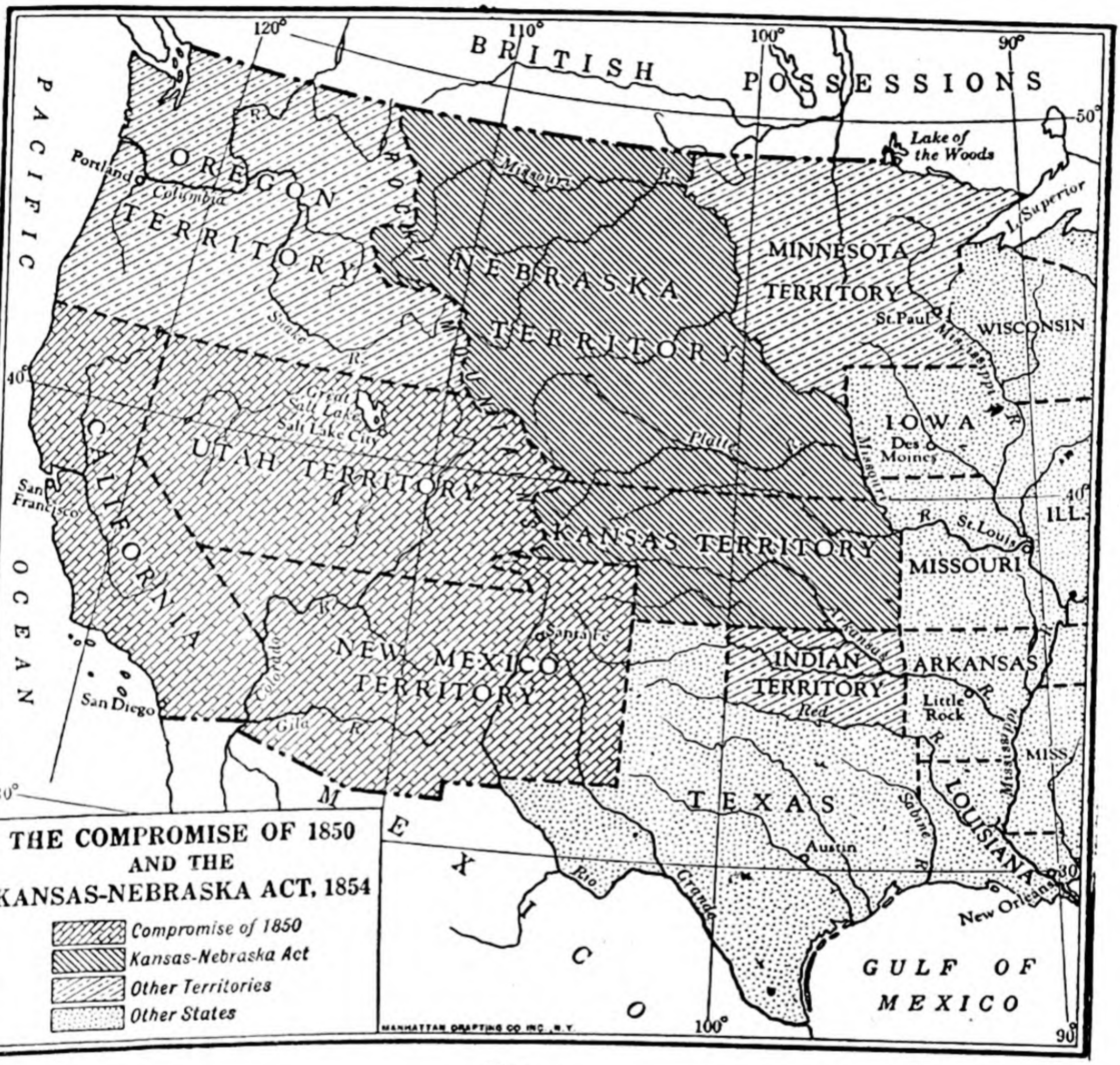


FIG. 2

intention to maintain the said settlement inviolate, and to resist all attempts to repeal or alter the acts . . . , unless by the general consent of the friends of the measures." Furthermore, they would oppose all candidates for major offices who failed to take a like stand.

Within a month of this pledge news reached Washington that Boston had forcibly resisted the execution of the new fugitive-slave law. This provision of the compromise was to prove a boomerang. Running con-

trary to public opinion in the North, the law brought home to that section some of the worst features of slavery. Bent upon resistance, many states within a few years passed so-called personal liberty laws. These acts, by granting jury trial to fugitives, denying the use of state jails for detaining fugitives and refusing the coöperation of state officials, virtually nullified the federal Constitution [77].

The systematic aid given fugitive slaves in escaping to Canada with the help of the well-known "Underground Railroad" was increased. Into this none too placid lake of aroused northern sentiment Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe hurled her book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This novel pictured dramatically the good and bad sides of slavery and aroused the sympathetic emotions of millions who read it or saw it on the stage. That it was not a fair presentation of slavery was not known to the impressionable youth of the North who in a few years would be voting.

Despite the agitation, the country in 1852 voted strongly for the spirit of compromise. Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, the Democratic "dark horse," won an overwhelming victory in the electoral vote over the Whig military hero, General Winfield Scott. Although both parties accepted the Compromise of 1850, the country felt that the Democrats were best able to maintain it. The slave issue had badly split the Whig party in both the North and South, and before another four years rolled by the party was in the grave with Clay who 20 years earlier had created it. A wit of the day said that the Whig party died trying "to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law."

12. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854. But as the old leaders moved off the stage, younger men not bound by Clay's pledge to keep the Compromise of 1850 final, marched into leadership. For a brief period the outstanding leader was the daring and ambitious Stephen A. Douglas, Democratic Senator from Illinois. Douglas was little interested in slavery, but he was extremely anxious to further the interests of his supporters by promoting a Pacific railroad terminating in Illinois.

To make this possible, it was necessary to provide a government for the upper Louisiana Territory. This was free territory under the Missouri Compromise; and in order to win southern support for his project, Douglas proposed a bill early in 1854 reopening the slave issue. In its final form this bill provided that Louisiana between 37° and 49° latitude be divided at the line of 40° into the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. It also stated that the new states therefrom "shall be received into the Union *with or without slavery*, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission" (see map, fig. 2). Let the people, said Douglas, decide whether or not slavery shall be extended. The restriction of slavery

by a "geographical line" was out of date, he held; therefore the act declared the Missouri Compromise Line of 36° 30′ "inoperative and void."

Douglas expected that Kansas would come in as a slave state almost immediately. Nebraska and other states to the north would come in as free states sometime later. Kansas, a slave state, would restore the balance of power at 16-16. The Kansas-Nebraska Act proved more of a bombshell than the Wilmot Proviso, for it reopened the slave question in a territory where even the South thought it had been settled "forever."

Regaining its composure, the South naturally embraced this opportunity to extend slavery further. The slavery-sensitive North leaped to a spirited defense of the "finality" of the slave settlement. For three months the sections fought desperately. But in the end Douglas forced the bill through Congress by a sectional vote, with the House dividing 113 to 100 and President Pierce signed the bill.

Thus by a single act Douglas had *repealed* the Missouri Compromise, had raised southern hope of restoring, if not winning, the balance of power, and had stirred the anti-slavery North to fever heat. Senator Chase predicted that the act "will light up a fire in the country which may, perhaps, consume those who kindle it." The eminent historian, James Ford Rhodes, has called the act "the most momentous measure that passed Congress from the day that the senators and representatives first met to the outbreak of the civil war."

13. **"Bleeding Kansas."** Nothing heretofore had so shaped public opinion on slavery. Douglas was burned in effigy throughout the North. More personal liberty laws were passed as further resistance was offered to the unpopular fugitive-slave law and the Underground Railroad increased its activities. It was clear that Douglas, "the Little Giant," had blundered, had woefully misjudged the North. But the full force of his blunder was demonstrated when the free and slave interests made their drive upon Kansas. From far-away New England rushed free men, and from nearby Missouri and Arkansas came planters with their slaves. The North wanted Kansas, and the South felt entitled to it by its geographical position. Sectional feeling ran riot and popular sovereignty broke down completely, as first one faction and then the other by illegal voting elected rival governments which drew up constitutions for or against slavery.

For nearly two years civil violence, if not civil war, raged in "bleeding Kansas," as pro-slavery men fought anti-slavery men for possession of the state. The echoes of the struggle were heard in Congress. In the spring of 1856 Senator Sumner of Massachusetts, in his "Crime Against Kansas" speech, mercilessly and cruelly abused and insulted the South and its leaders, especially Senator Butler of South Carolina. Two days

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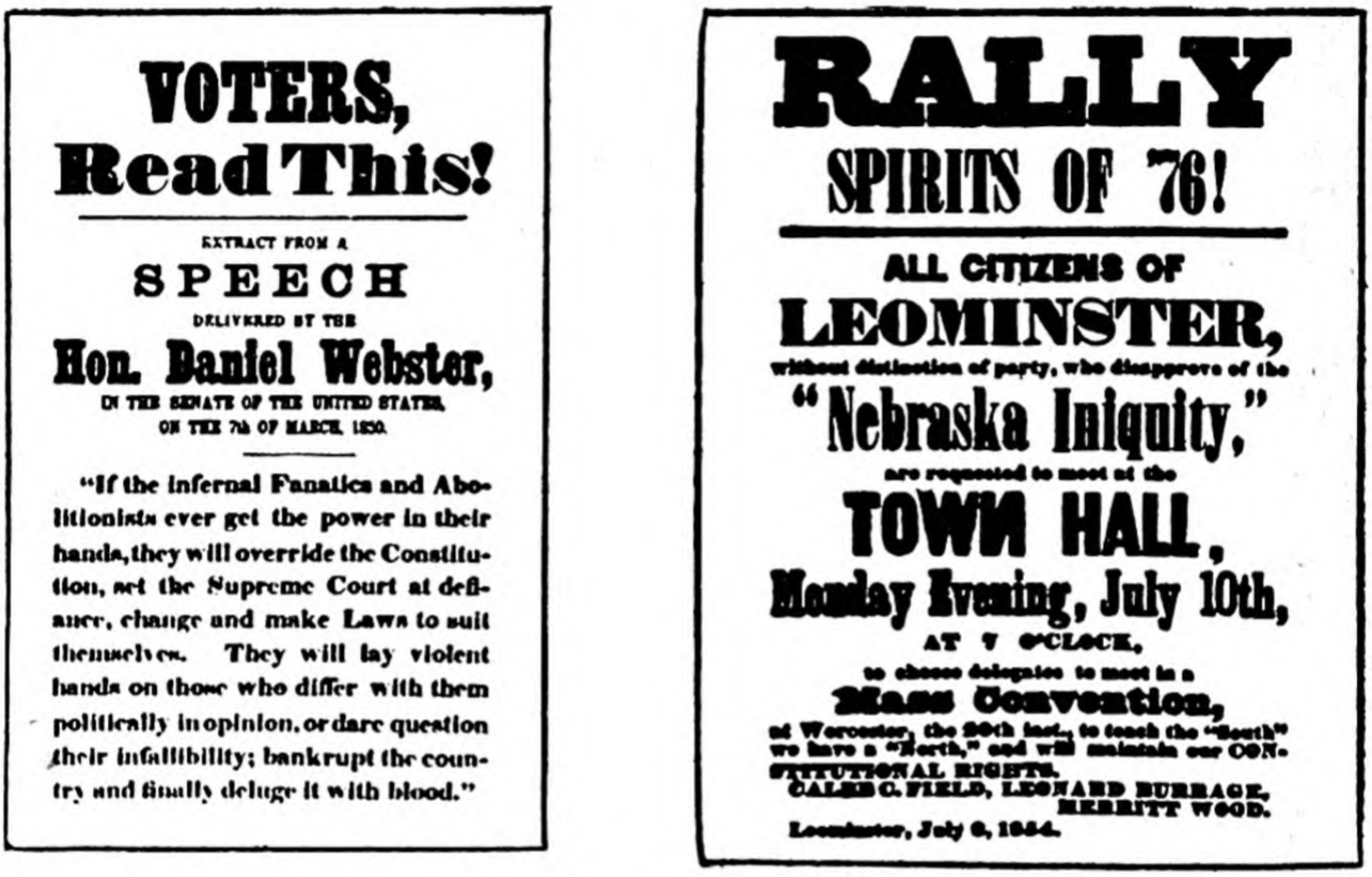
later, Representative Brooks, a relative of Butler, caned Sumner into insensibility as he sat in his Senate desk after adjournment. Sumner barely escaped with his life. Brooks resigned his congressional seat, but was immediately returned by a practically unanimous vote. Under such conditions Congress could make no impartial decision on the Kansas question, as that state torn by its factional conflicts asked for statehood. Finally, after the South had withdrawn from the Union, Kansas came in as a free state (1861).



VOTERS, Read This!

EXTRACT FROM A

SPEECH

DELIVERED BY THE

Hon. Daniel Webster,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, ON THE 7th OF MARCH, 1850.

"If the infernal Fanatics and Abolitionists ever get the power in their hands, they will override the Constitution, set the Supreme Court at defiance, change and make Laws to suit themselves. They will lay violent hands on those who differ with them politically in opinion, or dare question their infallibility; bankrupt the country and finally deluge it with blood."

RALLY

SPIRITS OF 76!

ALL CITIZENS OF

LEOMINSTER,

without distinction of party, who disapprove of the

"Nebraska Iniquity,"

are requested to meet at the

TOWN HALL,

Monday Evening, July 10th,

AT 7 O'CLOCK,

to choose delegates to meet in a

Mass Convention,

at Worcester, the 20th inst., to teach the "South" we have a "North," and will maintain our CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

CALEB C. FIELD, LEONARD BURRAGE, MERRITT WOOD.

Leominster, July 6, 1854.

ECHOES OF THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY IN THE NORTH

These handbills, representing a non-partisan appeal by the more radical anti-slavery elements, were issued at the time of the passage of the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The anti-slavery groups are reminded that Webster has deserted their cause.

14. **Rise of the Republican Party.** Meanwhile the Kansas-Nebraska Act had created a backfire of resentment in the North which gave rise to a new political party. With the Whig party hopelessly divided over slavery, party affairs were in confusion. Northern anti-slavery men —Free Soilers, northern Whigs, Anti-Nebraska Democrats—were casting about for a common program and leadership.

While Congress was debating the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, representatives of these groups gathered at Ripon, Wisconsin (February, 1854), and called for a new party line-up. After the bill passed, the "anti's" met in a large mass meeting in an oak grove near Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1854, organized a state-wide party, and adopted the name "Repub-

lican," thus appropriating the name but not the principles of Jefferson's old party. Their platform, calling slavery a "moral, social and political evil," denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and demanded repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the fugitive-slave law. The Republican movement of 1854, pledged to an undying opposition to the further extension of slavery, quickly spread to other northern states.[1] Faced by the combined opposition of the Republicans and Know-Nothing party,[2] the Democrats lost the House to the Republicans in 1854.

THE ELECTION OF 1856. The strength of the new Republican party was tested in the presidential election of 1856. The Democrats, rejecting Pierce and Douglas as too closely associated with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, a wise choice, because as minister to England (1854-56) he had avoided making enemies over Kansas. The Democratic platform upheld popular sovereignty as the "only sound and safe solution of the slavery question."

The Republicans passed over their leaders, Chase and Seward, and nominated a former Democrat, John C. Frémont, a famous western explorer but little known politically. The Republican platform opposed slavery in the *territories*, but had no intention of interfering with it in the *states*. Kansas, the Republicans said, must come in a free state. To the cries of "Bleeding Kansas" and "Free soil, free speech, free men, and Frémont," the new anti-slavery party appealed for votes (*5*).[3] The hard-pressed South raised a veiled threat of secession if Frémont were elected. The threat was sufficient to turn the conservatives of the North to Buchanan, who received 174 electoral votes to 114 for Frémont (see map, fig. 3). But Frémont received 40 per cent of the popular votes cast for the two candidates, most of which came from northern states.

In his Inaugural Address President Buchanan hoped that "the long agitation on this subject [slavery] is approaching its end." Touching upon the question of popular sovereignty in Kansas, he referred to it as a "judicial question"—one for the United States Supreme Court [69]—

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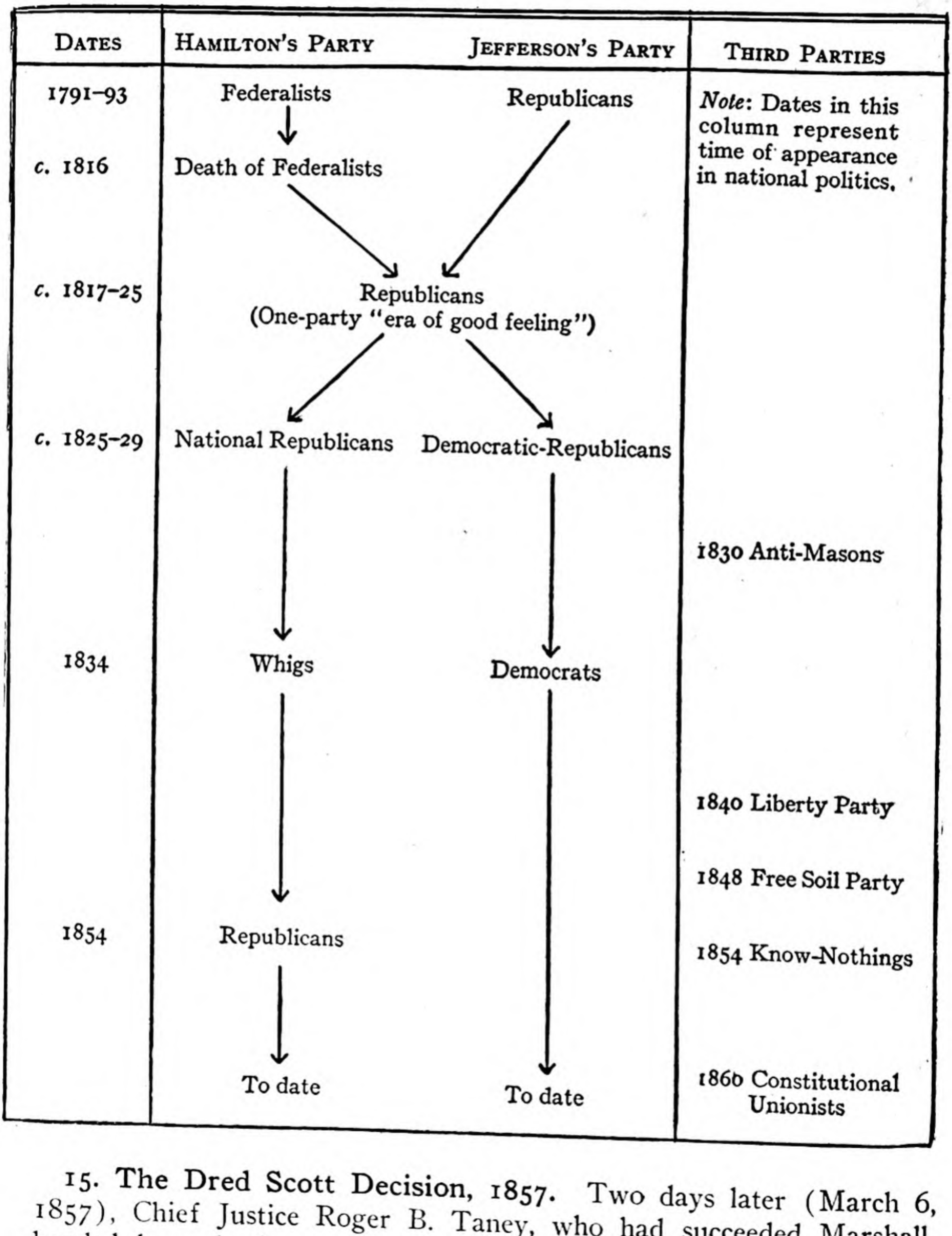
[1] With the slave issue its chief plank, it is noteworthy that the new Republican party also favored generous governmental aid to *commerce* through river and harbor improvements, and aid to *business* by governmental encouragement of a continental railroad. The new party was Hamilton's party revived to battle the planter. On the following page is given in chart form the flow of the major party streams under the headings which suggest that new names do not make new parties, together with a column for third parties.

[2] The American or Know-Nothing party was one of those curious anti-Catholic and anti-foreign movements which attempted, contrary to American institutions and ideals, to mix religion and politics. The party never had strong leaders and was soon torn apart by the slavery question. Originating as a secret society, its members attempted to conceal the party's motives by replying, "I know nothing," when questioned; hence the name.

[3] These italic figures in parentheses refer to paragraph numbers.

"before whom it is now pending, and [it] will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled." Was the Supreme Court going to rule with judicial finality upon the momentous issue of slavery?



15. The Dred Scott Decision, 1857. Two days later (March 6, 1857), Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who had succeeded Marshall, handed down the famous Dred Scott decision. Scott, the Negro slave of

an army surgeon, had been removed by his master from the slave state of Missouri to Illinois, was later taken to Minnesota Territory and finally back to Missouri. Upon his return to Missouri, Scott brought suit for his freedom on the ground that residence in Illinois (free under the Ordinance of 1787) and Minnesota (free under the Missouri Compromise) made him a free citizen. The highest Missouri court decided that Scott was still a slave, as did the federal circuit court to which the case was appealed.

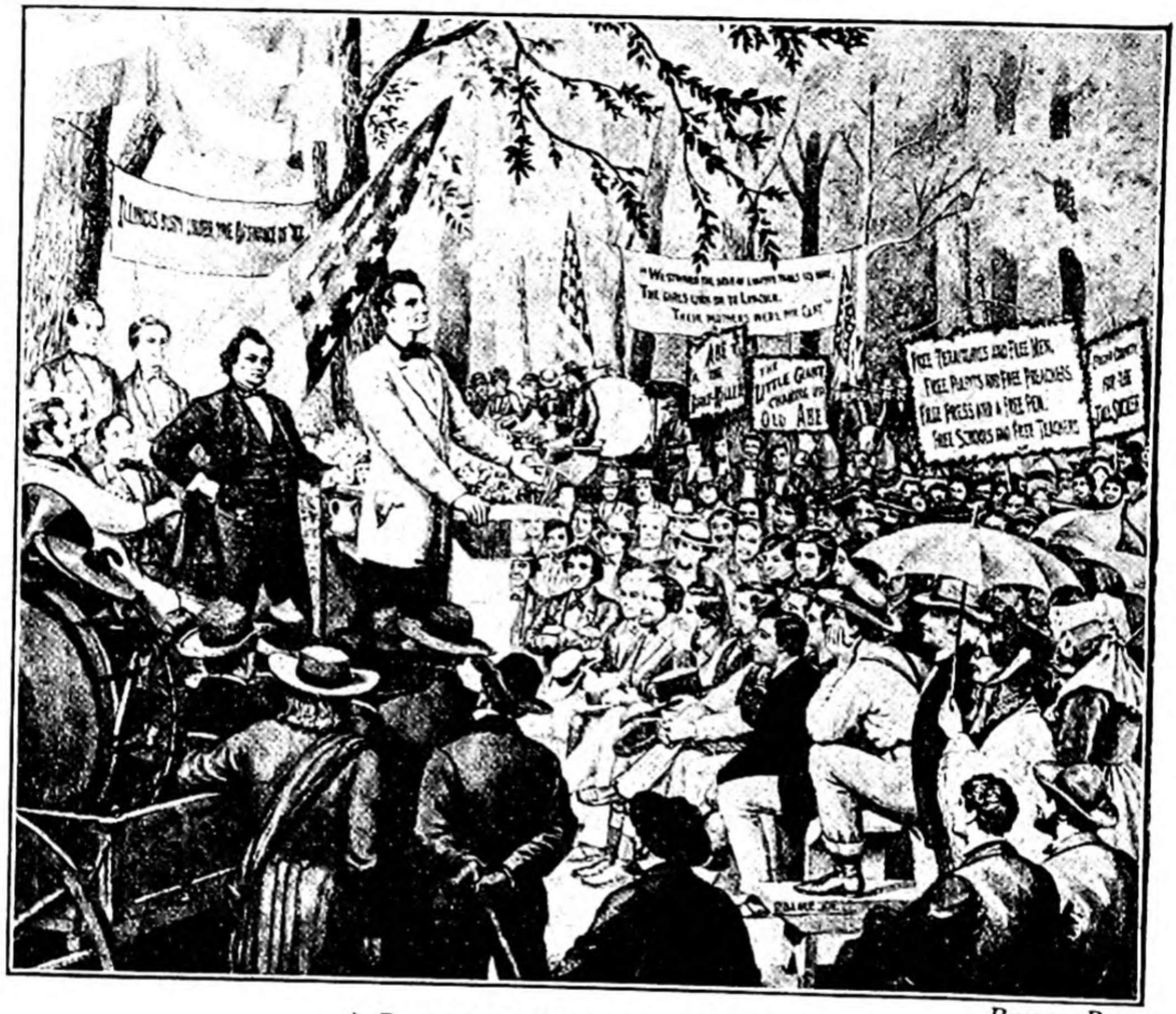
When the case, financed by abolitionists, came before the Supreme Court of the United States on appeal, the only question was whether the federal court had followed the proper procedure. The Supreme Court upheld the previous courts and ruled that Scott could not bring suit in a federal court because he was not a citizen. According to Taney, Negroes, within the meaning of the Constitution as originally adopted, were not persons or citizens but chattels or things. Scott therefore was still a slave and was returned to slavery, though soon thereafter liberated by his master. Here the case might well have ended and never been heard of again.

But with the issue of slavery now squarely before it, the court took a further step and answered the question, *Did Congress have power to prohibit slavery in the territories*? A majority of the court held that Congress had no such power, and that therefore the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional. The court had accepted Calhoun's earlier contention that a slave was property and under the Constitution could go anywhere as far as Congress was concerned [90]. The decision obviously placed the Republican platform in direct conflict with the Constitution. Also important was the effect of the decision on the popular-sovereignty clause of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The South was naturally highly elated. It had won a judicial decision on slavery in the highest court of the land, and that should settle the issue. But when a majority in the North was unwilling to accept the decision, slavery became an outright *political* issue. The powerful Springfield *Republican* maintained that "the people are the court of last resort in this country." Seward, in the manner of Jackson's attack on the Bank decision, called the decision "unconstitutional." In more guarded language Lincoln said, "We think the Dred Scott decision is erroneous. We know the court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it overrule this." Lincoln and others in the North regarded the decision as a southern conspiracy, but such charges were without warrant.

16. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858. The struggle over slavery was now shifted from the solemnity of the court to the prairies of

Kansas and the ballot boxes of Illinois. In Kansas another attempt was being made to adopt a constitution acceptable to Congress, but again only failure resulted. In Illinois, Douglas was fighting for reëlection to the Senate in a campaign that attracted country-wide interest. His Republican opponent was Abraham Lincoln who had served one term (1847-49) in Congress and then dropped from politics until aroused by the Kansas-Nebraska Act.


THE LITTLE GIANT
OLD ABE
FREE TERRITORIES AND FREE MEN,
FREE PLANTS AND FREE PREACHERS
FREE PRESS AND A FREE PEN,
FREE SCHOOLS AND FREE TEACHERS

Brown Bros.

A LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

One of the seven debates which created interest far greater than is aroused today by political campaigns. Men, women and children—as many as 20,000 at one debate—came great distances in wagons, carriages, on horseback and a-foot. In this picture most of the banners are Lincoln's.

Douglas was the most brilliant political figure of the time, and extremely popular. In comparison Lincoln, unknown outside his state, regarded himself "a flat failure." Douglas was an eloquent orator and matchless debater; Lincoln was a slow, clumsy, drawling but doggedly persistent speaker. The two men had long been friends and knew and respected each other's abilities. Lincoln, with nothing to lose and much to gain, challenged "the Little Giant" to a series of seven debates in the

state, having sounded the keynote of the campaign when he accepted the Republican nomination. "'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe," said Lincoln, "this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

The most significant debate of the most important public debates in our history was held at Freeport. Here, against the advice of friends, Lincoln asked Douglas a question which in substance was: "Judge Douglas, do you favor the Dred Scott decision, or do you still stand for popular sovereignty?" This was a nice question. If Douglas said popular sovereignty, as Lincoln expected, then western love of self-government would turn Illinois to Douglas and defeat Lincoln. But by turning against the Dred Scott decision Douglas would lose southern support so necessary to his presidential aspirations in 1860. If on the contrary he favored the decision, he would probably lose the Senatorship because of anti-slavery feeling in Illinois. In short, if Douglas answered as Lincoln expected, Lincoln would lose the Senatorship and Douglas the Presidency. To his worried supporters Lincoln is reported to have said, "I am killing larger game; if Douglas answers [in favor of popular sovereignty], he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

THE FREEPORT DOCTRINE. Douglas's answer, the so-called Freeport Doctrine, was that in theory he favored the Dred Scott decision but in practice he remained true to his pet principle of popular sovereignty. The court's ruling on slavery is really a theory and as such we accept it, answered Douglas, *but* in practice if the people of a territory do not want slavery they will elect representatives to the legislature who will, by "unfriendly legislation," effectually prevent the introduction of slavery into their midst. A year earlier Douglas had said, with reference to slavery in Kansas, "I care not whether it is voted down or voted up." This was acceptable to Illinois, and Douglas was elected Senator. But he had said that the Supreme Court decision really did not mean anything so far as the actual extension of slavery was concerned. The South was furious beyond words at this betrayal of their interests. Overnight the name of Lincoln spread, and the East inquired, "Who is this man, Lincoln?"

17. John Brown's Raid. Again the scene in the slavery struggle shifted, this time to the South. In the fall of 1859 the fanatical John Brown, fresh from anti-slavery murders in Kansas, proposed by force of arms to liberate the slaves of the South. Seizing the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, capturing some nearby slaveholders and freeing a few slaves, he began his war, which was quickly put down by the

arrival of Colonel Robert E. Lee and some United States marines. Brown was arrested, tried, convicted and hanged for the public enemy that he was, but many came to believe that he was a martyr to a sacred cause. The South pointed to the affair as a natural result of continued northern agitation on slavery. The Republicans quickly disclaimed any responsibility for Brown, but the abolitionists could not. More significantly, Brown's raid caused secession sentiment to mount in the South.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT APPROACHES

18. Economic Sectionalism. In the struggle for the *control of the federal government* the economic strength of the North and the South was bound to be an important factor. In the South King Cotton controlled politics, for, as Seward pointed out in 1856, he "practically chooses thirty of the sixty-two members of the senate, ninety of the two hundred and thirty-three members of the house of representatives, and one hundred and five of the two hundred and ninety-five electors of president and vice-president of the United States." In addition, the South had five of the nine justices of the Supreme Court.

The plantation-slave system, however, saddled a one-sided economic life upon the South, which proved profitable only so long as there was fresh land for expansion. But by 1860 the limits of slavery expansion were fixed despite the Dred Scott decision, and slavery was ceasing to be profitable. That this fact was known to some Southerners is evidenced by the appearance in 1857 of Helper's *Impending Crisis of the South.* This book, written by a middle-class white, one of the very large group of non-slaveholding Southerners, pointed out that unless the South abolished slavery its economic future was doomed. Further, dependence upon the North must be ended by producing various crops and introducing manufacturing into the South.

The South, however, continued to worship at the throne of King Cotton, for as late as 1858 Senator Hammond of South Carolina held cotton to be indispensable. Should the South produce no cotton for three years, he told Senators, "England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton *is* King."

In the North commerce and industry, manned by free labor and encouraged by federal bounties and protective tariffs, rapidly developed manufacturing, produced great wealth and encouraged immigration. As the North scanned the country, it observed that during the 'fifties the East-West canals and railroads had broken down the Mississippi River

as a commercial tie uniting the South and the West. This economic divorce of the West and South, and the resulting marriage of the East and West, were events of the first importance and would take on new meaning if and when the "irrepressible conflict," which Seward had predicted, should occur. The North-South sectionalism, based upon opposing forces of primary economic, political and social significance, awaited only a spark to set off a gigantic explosion.

19. **A "Black Republican" Elected in 1860.** The supreme struggle for control of the federal government came in the election of 1860—the

Springfield. Ill. May 23. 1860

Hon. George Ashmun.

President of the Republican National Convention

Sir

I accept the nomination tendered me by the Convention over which you presided, and of which I am formally apprized in the letter of yourself and others, acting as a Committee of the Convention, for that purpose.

The declaration of principles and sentiments, which accompanies your letter, meets my [redacted] approval; and it shall be my care not to violate, or disregard it, in any part.

Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regards to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the Convention, to the rights of all the States, and territories, and peoples of the nation; to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, harmony, and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the Convention.

Your obliged friend, and fellow citizen

A. Lincoln

LINCOLN ACCEPTS THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

When this letter was written there was no evidence that Lincoln would be more than a "practical politician" in the President's chair. It required the crisis of the war to develop his greatness—a greatness little appreciated during his trying years.

most important presidential contest of our history. The Democratic convention met at Charleston, but was so divided between the northern and southern factions that no candidate could be nominated. Gathering a few months later at Baltimore, the northern wing nominated Douglas. The southern faction at a third convention nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Meanwhile two other conventions had been held. The Republicans at Chicago had selected Lincoln, "Honest Abe of the West,"

as their most "available" candidate, after passing by the better-known Seward. The Constitutional Unionists, consisting of conservative Whigs and partyless Know-Nothings, nominated John Bell of Tennessee.

The Republican platform made a wide appeal by repeating its demands for aid to commerce and industry and adding others in the form of free land and protective tariff planks. But the issue of the hour was slavery. Demanding a free Kansas, the Republicans took a firm stand against the *further extension of slavery into the territories*. However, they hastened to add that they would make no drive against slavery in the *states*. The

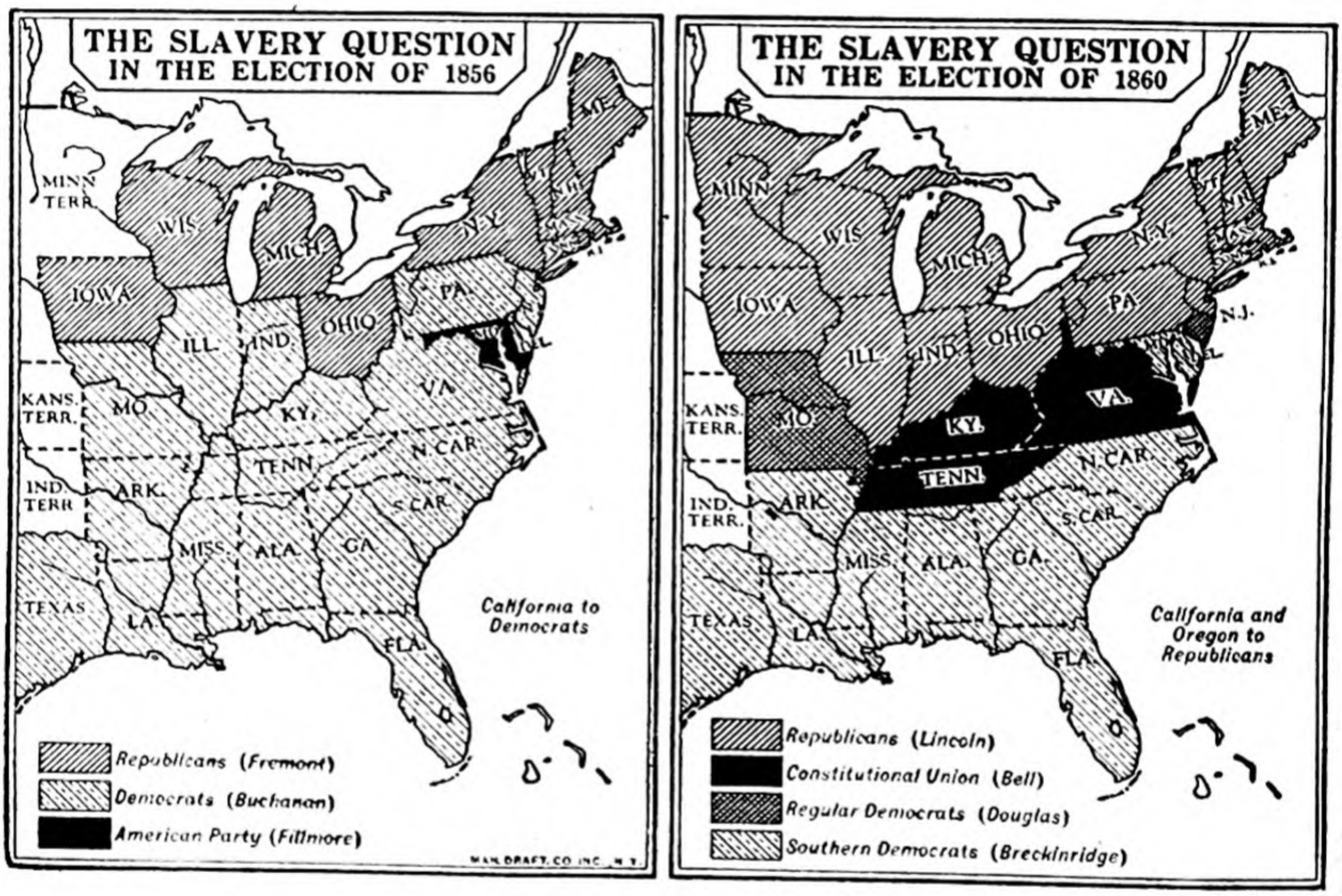


FIG. 3

Douglas Democrats stood for *popular sovereignty*, while the southern Democrats stood squarely by the *Dred Scott decision*. The Constitutional Unionists did not mention the burning issue of slavery, but called for the "Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

The four-cornered campaign was fought spiritedly, though the Republicans could not conceal a natural confidence in the outcome. A sense of pending doom seemed to be in the air, and everywhere there was fear for the Union. When the ballots were counted, Lincoln had 180 electoral votes, as against 123 for his opponents (Douglas 12, Breckinridge 72, and Bell 39). (See map, fig. 3.) But the popular votes told a vastly differ-

ent story. Of 4,500,000 votes cast, Lincoln received only 40 per cent. Although Douglas received only 12 electoral votes, he received 30 per cent of the total popular vote. One thing was clear: Lincoln, a "Black Republican,"[1] was a minority President as the result of a sectional vote in which he received no electoral votes in the South and only a handful of popular votes in the border states.

The issues of free land, tariff and slavery determined the election. And so it came about that the Republican party, which had been called into existence by Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act, defeated Douglas and drove from office the Democratic party of Jefferson and Jackson that had held the Presidency for four-fifths of the time from Jefferson to Lincoln.

20. The Black Cloud of Slavery. From the day of the invention of the cotton gin to the election of Lincoln, slavery and the plantation-slave system grew, at the first gradually and later speedily, into an issue that overshadowed all others. As a moral issue it concerned a few only; but when it cut across the political balance of power between North and South, momentous steps were taken.

At first the Missouri Compromise appeared to be the solution, but when old King Cotton demanded an extension of his realm, the problem had to be faced all over again. This time the Compromise of 1850 was designed to settle for all time the issue of slavery expansion. When Douglas unceremoniously pushed aside the 36°30′ line in the Louisiana Territory, northern political opposition rallied to the new Republican party which firmly proclaimed to the slave-holding South: "Thus far but no farther." When black-robed justices ruled that no power could exclude slavery from the territories, the Republicans hurled defiance at the court, while Lincoln was digging a hole for "the Little Giant" so deep that the entire Democratic party fell into it. King Cotton, tutored from youth to venerable age on the state's rights theory, stood on his dignity and eyed suspiciously his overgrown commercial-industrial brother across the Mason-Dixon line. We know something of what each was thinking of the other fellow's economic and social system; but what was each going to do next? The unanswered question of the hour was: "How will the South receive the election of a 'Black Republican'?"

Can You Use These Terms or Expressions?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

---

[1] Because the Republicans opposed the extension of slavery and regarded the institution as a "sin," they were called "Black Republicans" by the Democrats.

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1. The term "abolitionist" properly refers to: (a) any person opposed to slavery; (b) a person who believed in the immediate destruction of slavery on moral grounds; (c) any one who supported the newly-formed Republican party after 1854.
2. When Americans used the term "Manifest Destiny" they were referring to: (a) our inevitable expansion westward to include what is now continental United States; (b) the "irrepressible conflict" over slavery; (c) the growing sectional differences between North and South.
3. During the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the War between the States border states generally were considered to be: (a) those adjoining the Canadian and Mexican boundaries; (b) Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Kansas and Missouri; (c) states more or less divided on the issue of slavery.
4. Anti-Nebraska Democrats were: (a) Northern Democrats opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act; (b) instrumental in forming the new Republican party in 1854; (c) opposed to the leadership provided by Stephen A. Douglas.
5. According to the doctrine of popular or squatter sovereignty advocated by Stephen A. Douglas, incoming states would: (a) become slave states; (b) become free states; (c) determine by vote of their own population whether they would be slave or free states.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Circle the letter **T** *if the statement is true. Circle the letter* **F** *if it is false.*

1. **T** **F** Considerable anti-slavery sentiment prevailed in the South, as well as in the North, in the years just after our Revolution.
2. **T** **F** Laws abolishing slavery were enacted in many northern states after the Revolution.
3. **T** **F** Slavery had never been permitted in any of the New England states.
4. **T** **F** The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 by Eli Whitney, a Yankee, brought about a great demand for slaves in the South.
5. **T** **F** Cotton exports, in 1860, made up more than half of our total exports.
6. **T** **F** In 1860 most Southern whites owned ten or more slaves.
7. **T** **F** A reason why slavery became a national issue in the earlier 1800's was because of the struggle for the "balance of power" in the Senate between the industrial North and the cotton states of the South.
8. **T** **F** The Southern planter believed that slavery was an economic necessity.
9. **T** **F** During the 1830's and '40's abolitionists generally were strongly supported by most Northerners.

10. **T F** The Free Soil party demanded emancipation of slavery in all of the states and prohibition of slavery in the territories.
11. **T F** Some Northerners believed that the Mexican War was a conspiracy on the party of "slavocracy" to obtain more land for cotton culture.
12. **T F** Division into slave and free states of the territory acquired from Mexico was settled by the Wilmot Proviso.

C. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

CHOICES	ITEMS
1. President who preceded Lincoln	a. ( ) Harriet Beecher Stowe
2. Fanatic abolitionist regarded in North as a martyr	b. ( ) "Freeport Doctrine"
3. Abolitionist editor of *The Liberator*	c. ( ) Stephen A. Douglas
4. Concerned with disposition of Mexican Cession	d. ( ) James Buchanan
5. Used to transmit fugitive slaves	e. ( ) Dred Scott Decision
6. Cost Douglas support of southern Democrats for the 1860 presidential nomination	f. ( ) "Reoccupation of Oregon"
7. Nominated for President in 1860 by southern Democrats	g. ( ) William Lloyd Garrison
8. Opposed to "gag resolution" that tabled petitions concerning slavery in Congress	h. ( ) "Underground Railroad"
9. Advocated popular sovereignty in Kansas and Nebraska	i. ( ) Compromise of 1850
10. Author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*	j. ( ) John Brown
11. Declared Congress could not prohibit slavery in the territories	k. ( ) John Quincy Adams
12. "Fifty-four Forty or Fight"	l. ( ) John C. Breckinridge

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

D. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion with which you agree, circle the letters* **OA**. *If it is an opinion with which you disagree, circle the letters* **OD**.

1. **T F OA OD** In stating that Congress had no power to regulate slavery in the territories, the Supreme Court took an unjustified legal step.

2. **T F OA OD** The Republican party in 1860 said it would not interfere with slavery in the states where slavery was established.

3. **T F OA OD** The modern Republican party was founded in the mid-1850's.

4. **T F OA OD** The slave controversy came to a head primarily because of the moral issue involved.

5. **T F OA OD** The Republican party found its supporters largely in the industrial North and agricultural West.

6. **T F OA OD** Advocates of Negro slavery were justified in their contention that there was nothing immoral in the institution of slavery.

7. **T F OA OD** Northern factory workers frequently had less economic and social security than did many Negro slaves.

8. **T F OA OD** The most poorly paid and overworked northern laborer would not have given up his freedom in exchange for actual slavery.

9. **T F OA OD** Despite their difference over the institution of slavery, the states of the agricultural West had more in common with the slave states of the South than with the industrial North.

10. **T F OA OD** Earlier abolitionists opposed slavery on moral grounds but matters were brought to a climax in the 1850's by the economic issues at stake.

11. **T F OA OD** There was no justification, legally, socially or economically, for the attack on slavery.

12. **T F OA OD** The Negroes in the southern states today are no better off than they were in the days of slavery.

Summarizing Exercise

GENERALIZATION: During the Years from About 1790 to 1861 the South Grew and Prospered as Cotton Became Its Chief Product.

E. Below are a number of statements. If the statement supports the above generalization circle the letter **Y** *(yes). Circle the letter* **N** *(no) if the statement does not support the generalization.*

1. **Y N** The Industrial Revolution increased textile manufacturing with consequent demand for cotton fiber.

2. **Y N** Southern cotton exports by 1860 were more than 50 times greater than cotton exports of 1800.

3. **Y N** Cotton is produced in India in considerable quantity.

4. **Y N** By the mid-1830's the abolition movement had grown in the North.

5. **Y N** Cotton culture spread rapidly into Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana during the mid-1830's.
6. **Y N** Cotton wears out the soil quickly; therefore the South demanded that more western lands be opened to slave labor.
7. **Y N** The South was opposed to internal improvements at federal expense.
8. **Y N** Mexicans regarded our annexation of Texas as "equivalent to a declaration of war against the Mexican Republic."
9. **Y N** Personal liberty laws passed in many northern states tended to nullify federal fugitive slave laws.
10. **Y N** As a result of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, civil war broke out in Kansas.
11. **Y N** The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 made it possible to process raw cotton much more rapidly and at far less cost.
12. **Y N** Senator Stephen A. Douglas' stand on the Dred Scott Decision split the Democratic party.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Contrast the attitudes held in the years between 1830 and 1860 by the North and South with respect to: (a) tariff; (b) state's rights; (c) expansion of slavery into the territories.
2. The issue of expansion of slavery in the United States was brought to a head by economic factors rather than moral grounds. Discuss the truth or falsity of this statement.
3. Describe the part played by each of *three* of the following in the slave controversy: (a) abolitionists; (b) the Mexican War; (c) the Kansas-Nebraska Act; (d) the Dred Scott Decision; (e) the Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Good general treatments of the slave controversy may be found in: J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chaps. viii, ix; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps. xxi-xxiii; C. A. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, pp. 581-717; H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, chaps. xx-xxii; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xiv, xv, xvii-xix; and E. E. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, chap. xix. For specialized treatment consult: W. E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*; J. Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade*, chap. vii; and N. W. Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*, chaps. i-iv.

Biographies:

Full accounts of the "Little Giant" are: A. Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*,

and L. Howland, *Stephen A. Douglas.* A colorful account of Samuel Houston is *The Raven* by M. James.

Historical Novels:

M. Mitchell, *Gone With the Wind* opens with a picture of plantation life in the days just before the opening guns were fired in the War between the States. S. V. Benét, *John Brown's Body* is a narrative poem which opens with John Brown's raid and goes on through the War between the States. Other novels of this period are R. Stratchey, *Marching On,* a story of "Bleeding Kansas"; E. Eggleston, *The Graysons.*

CHAPTER I

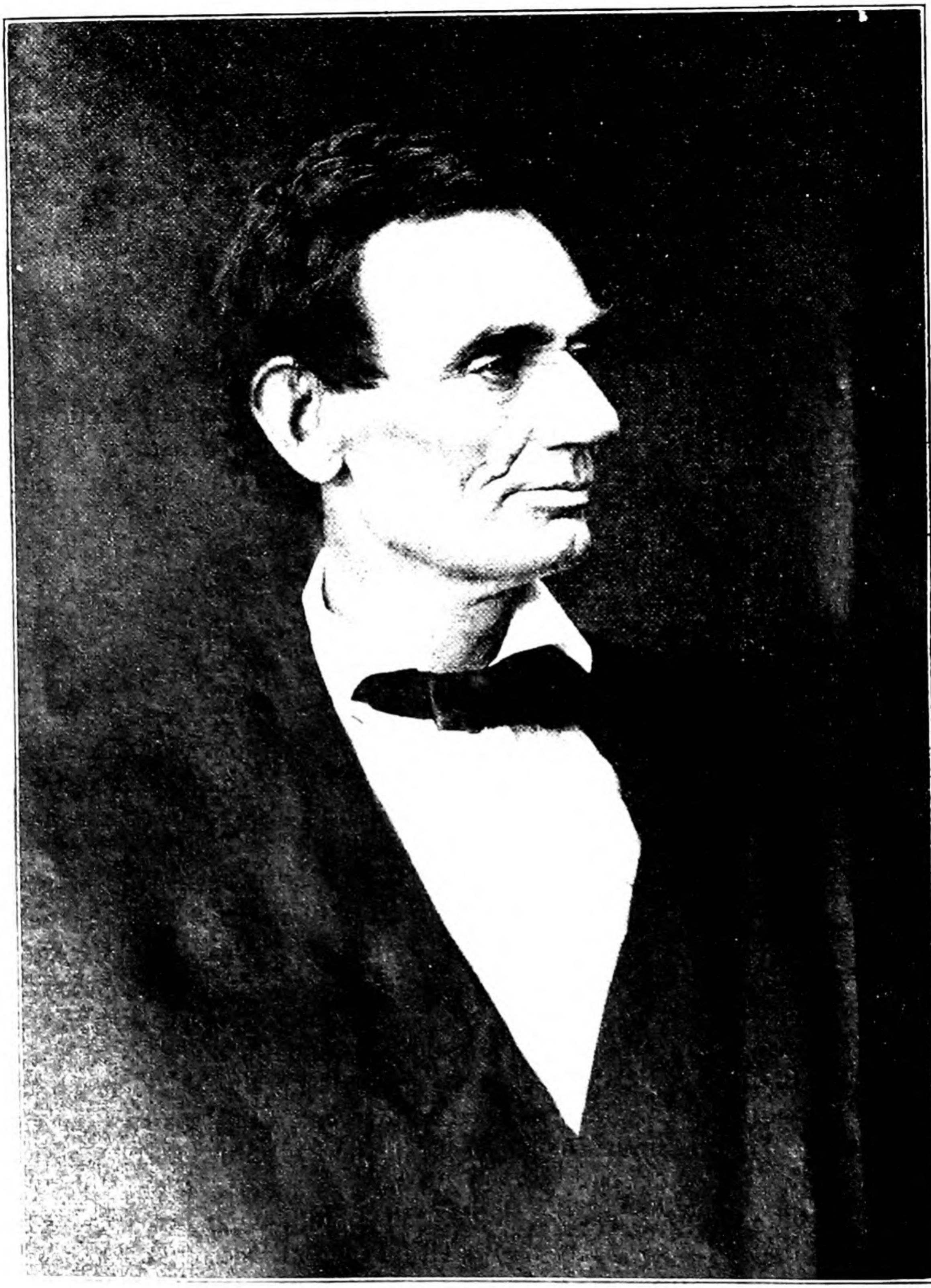
The War between the States and Triumphant Nationalism

SECESSION DIVIDES THE NATION

1. **Secession of the South.** The four months between the election of Lincoln and his inauguration must be considered one of the most fateful and critical periods of the Republic. Six weeks after the election South Carolina answered the question in everybody's mind by withdrawing from the Union. On December 20, 1860, a convention at Charleston unanimously adopted an Ordinance of Secession declaring that "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the 'United States of America,' is hereby dissolved." The state that had previously nullified federal laws now had gone the full distance with the compact theory and had announced its withdrawal or secession from the Union. But this time South Carolina did not act alone. By February 1, 1861, six others, the Gulf States—Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida—and Georgia, had followed South Carolina into secession.

Three days later delegates from six of the seven states met at Montgomery, Alabama, to consider united action. Within a week a temporary constitution was ready for the "Confederate States of America." The convention became a Congress, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was made President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice President. Davis, a cotton planter, was a West Point graduate, had served with distinction in the Mexican War, had been a leader in both houses of Congress, and had been Pierce's Secretary of War. Stephens had served his state loyally and wisely for six years in the legislature and 15 years in Congress.

While a new nation was forming in the South, what did President Buchanan do about it? In his last annual message in December, 1860, he held the Union to be perpetual, denied the right of secession but knew of no constitutional right to use force on a state if it did secede. Despite 40 years of legislative, diplomatic and executive service, it was plain that Buchanan was not fitted to "ride the whirlwind and command the storm." Hoping for a last-minute compromise, he awaited March 4 and retire-



Brown Brothers

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1860

aph by Hessler was taken shortly after the presidential nomination.
ond letter in 1859 Lincoln (1860-61) wrote: "Always a whig in
y on the whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses, I was
ities, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me
at I have done since then is pretty well known."

ment. The President-elect Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield, Illinois, was already walking the lonely path of self-counsel. Attempting late in 1860 to allay fear, Lincoln wrote Stephens:

> I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me. Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly or indirectly, interfere with the slaves, or with them about the slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you . . . that there is no cause for such fears. . . . I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended, while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That, I suppose, is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us.

2. **The Confederate Government.** At Montgomery the confederate government was putting its house in order, for Davis believed that "there *would* be war, long and bloody." The congress adopted a flag of "stars and bars" to replace the stars and stripes. An army of 100,000 men was voted, a $15,000,000 loan authorized, and a small export tax on cotton levied to cover the loan. Davis was instructed to secure Fort Sumter, and at the same time a committee was appointed to go to Washington to negotiate a treaty of friendship with the federal government.

With these things done or planned, a permanent constitution was drawn up and ratified by the seceded states. This constitution had two fundamental bases: first, it recognized the sovereignty of the states and, second, slavery was specifically made a lawful institution. In general form it followed the federal Constitution with, however, certain notable differences. Mindful of past experience, bounties and protective tariffs were prohibited and internal improvements for sectional benefits were ruled out. The President was elected for six years but was ineligible for reëlection. Unlike the federal President, he was empowered to veto separate items of appropriation bills. Finally, as in the British Parliament, cabinet members could sit in Congress.

In the spring of 1861 *after* the fall of Fort Sumter the Confederacy was enlarged by the secession of four states in the Upper South: Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas.[1] The capital of the Confederacy was now removed from Montgomery to Richmond in Virginia, which became the heart of the Confederacy. A struggle to win

[1] The secession of Virginia—the state of Washington, Jefferson and Madison—was a powerful aid to the Confederacy and was marked by two significant outcomes. First, it resulted in the painful decision of Robert E. Lee to forsake the Union he loved for the state he felt honor-bound to serve in time of trouble. Lee's decision gave the South its most distinguished general and deprived the Union of its greatest military leader at the moment. Second, the non-slaveholding western counties of Virginia refused to follow the eastern, "seceded from the seceders," and set up a loyal Union government. In 1863 West Virginia was admitted to the Union [78, note].

over the slave-holding border states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri resulted in victory for the North. When the war started, 11 states were enrolled under the flag of the Confederacy, and 23 under the Union flag (see map, fig. 4).

3. The Breakdown of Compromise. On the day the secessionists met to organize a central government, a Peace Convention called by Virginia met at Washington "to consider, and, if practicable, to agree upon some suitable adjustment." This meeting took place the month before Lincoln's inauguration. Representatives from two-thirds of the states were present, but none from the states then in secession. Almost two months earlier Senator Crittenden of Kentucky had proposed the so-called Crittenden Compromise which would restore the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ to all our *territories* and deny to Congress the right to abolish or interfere with slavery in the *states* where it already existed.

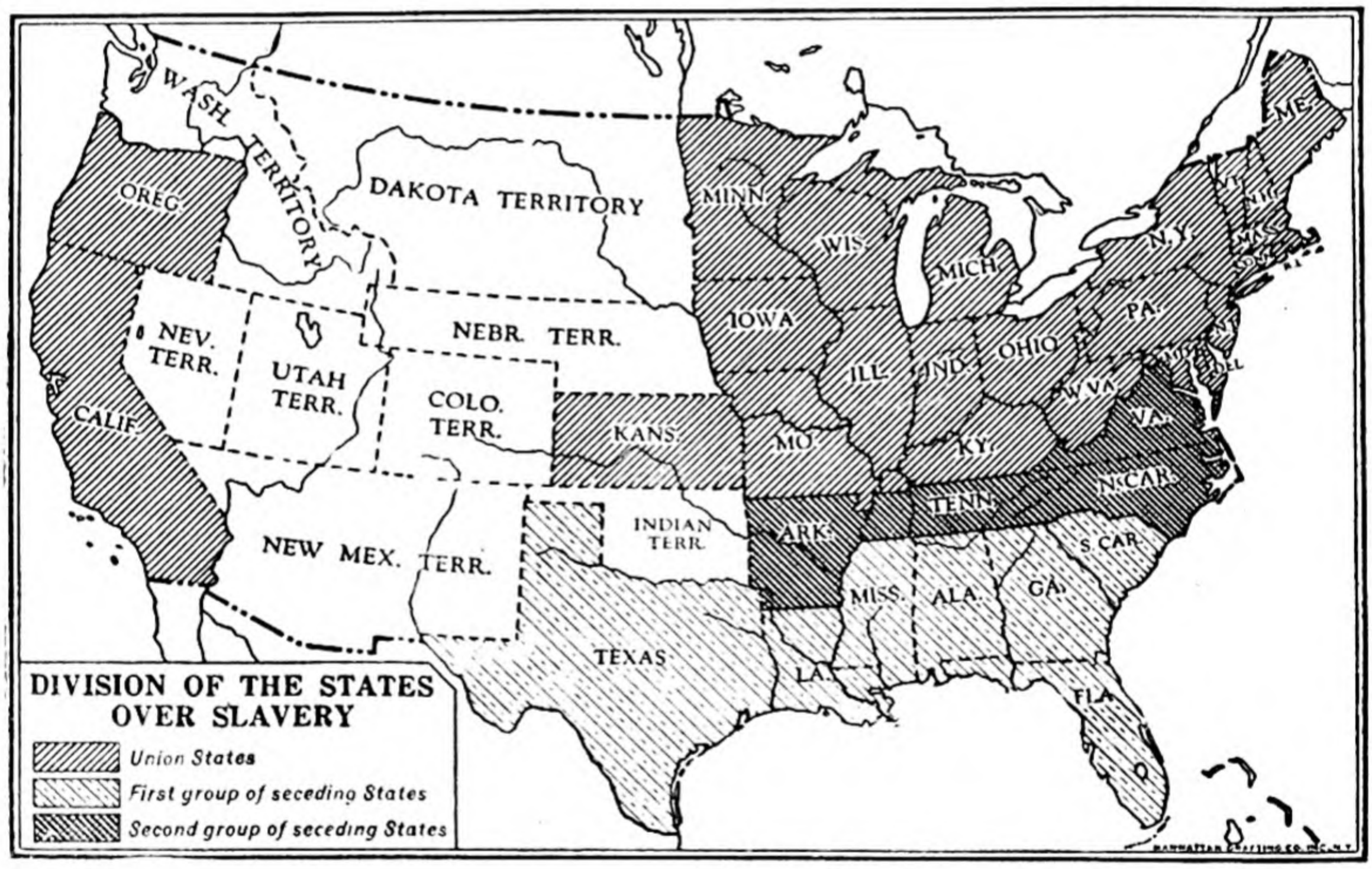


FIG. 4

The North was clearly divided on the issue of secession. Some said, "Wayward Sisters, depart in peace"; others favored compromise on slavery in order to save the Union. The Peace Convention hashed over the Crittenden measures, but in the end failed to agree upon anything acceptable to Congress. Congressional sentiment in favor of compromise was daily diminishing. The most promising move for peace came with the Senate's approval, on the night before Lincoln took office, of a proposed

Thirteenth Amendment. This amendment prohibited Congress from interfering with slavery in the *states*, but it did not go far enough for the South and, alas, it came too late.

With the exception of the last proposal, President-elect Abraham Lincoln stood solidly and with determination against any compromise with the extension of slavery. From election to inauguration Lincoln wrote letter after letter making the position of himself and his party clear. "Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the *extension* of slavery," he wrote. "On that point hold firm, as with a chain of steel. . . . On the territorial question I am inflexible." Lincoln was only standing firmly by the Republican platform (*I, 19*). Did he prevent compromise by his action? This remains one of the unanswered questions of history.

4. Lincoln Speaks and Acts. On March 4, 1861, with Washington under a heavy guard of soldiers and artillery, Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office. What would Lincoln say concerning slavery, secession and a federal policy toward secessionists? Assuring the South in his Inaugural Address that the inauguration of a Republican administration was no cause for real fear, the new President turned to the question of secession. Holding that "the Union of these states is perpetual," he resolutely said:

> I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. . . . In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Repeating that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists," he denied the possibility of real separation. While secession was lawfully impossible in Lincoln's mind, he did recognize the constitutional right of amendment or the right of revolution. But if the latter course were followed, he solemnly warned: "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. . . . *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.'"

Fort Sumter. Pursuing his announced policy, Lincoln notified South Carolina early in April that he intended to provision Fort Sumter,

the one fort in Charleston Harbor still under federal control. Fearing that reënforcements would also be sent, the confederate government instructed General Beauregard to demand the fort's surrender. If the general's demand was refused, he was to destroy it. Major Anderson, in command of Sumter, refused to evacuate; and at daybreak on April 12, 1861, the confederate forces, after giving notice, began bombardment. Anderson's 128 men held out courageously for 34 hours against more than 5000 Confederates. But with provisions nearly exhausted, fort aflame and magazines exploding, the federal forces surrendered and retired with colors flying. "The Brothers' War" had begun.[1]

Events now moved swiftly. The day after the fall of Sumter, Lincoln called for 75,000 militiamen for three months' service and also called Congress into special session. The North patriotically responded as 310,000 men rallied to the flag by July 1. Political leaders ignored party lines in pledging support to Lincoln and a Massachusetts regiment hastened to the defense of Washington, soon to be joined by New York troops. Meanwhile Lincoln's call for men and the implied use of force in the South had driven Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas into the Confederacy.

5. Sectionalism, Secession and Union. Secession had established the Confederacy, but what had caused secession? In the previous chapter we developed the rise of sectional differences, the growth of the plantation-slave system, its restricted expansion into the territories, and the resulting destruction of the political balance of power. We have heard cotton proclaimed king and have seen that the election of a "Black Republican" led directly to secession. Sectional differences—largely economic, and prominent among them the issue of slavery—had at last split the Union.

It is useless to ask whether the South had a right to secede. The fact is that the compact theory of Calhoun, Hayne and Davis had collided a last time with the perpetual-Union belief of Webster and Lincoln. But after Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops, the question ceases both in the North and South to be a conflict of theories. Men in the North who never would have donned a uniform to stop slavery expansion sprang to arms to save the Union. Tens of thousands of whites who never owned a slave put on the Gray uniforms of the Confederacy to fight against the "co-

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[1] The Civil War has been variously termed, but it was literally a war in which families were divided, especially in the border states. Official United States government records referred to the conflict as the "War of the Rebellion," while Vice President Stephen's history of the struggle termed it "The War Between the States," thus placing southern emphasis upon state's rights. Professor Channing called it "The War for Southern Independence," and Professor Beard would call it "The Second American Revolution" because of the revolution that resulted in political, economic and social life.

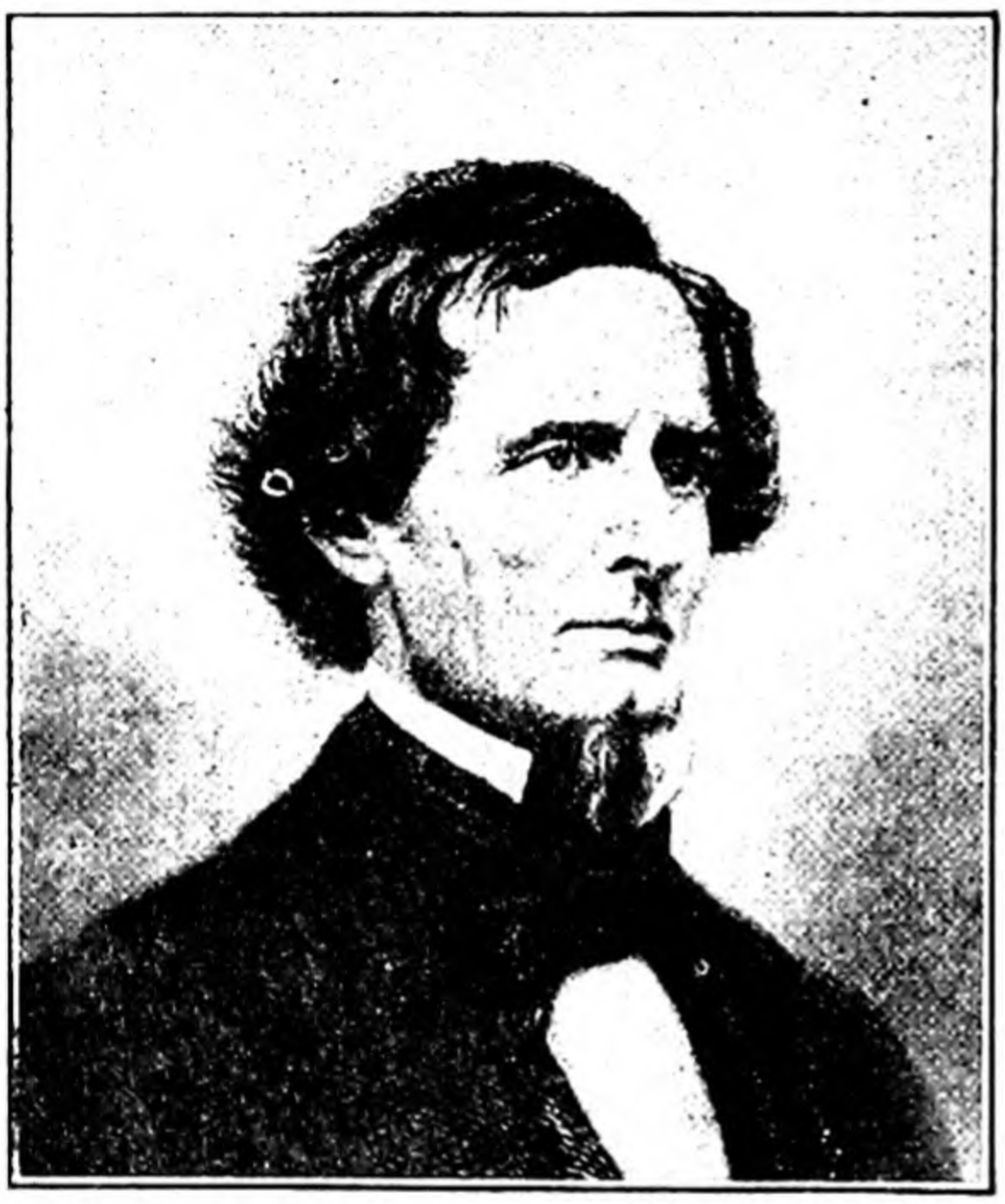
ercion" of the South and in defense of their homes against invasion. Men of the North remembered their schoolboy recitation of Webster's "Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." The occasion had come to die for it if necessary. In the South equally ardent and sincere confederate patriots were ready to give meaning to a leader's maxim: "Let us teach our children to hold the cotton plant in one hand and a sword in the other, ever ready to defend it as the source of commercial power abroad, and, through that, of independence at home." In this conflict of principles brave youth of the Southland and loyal sons of the North were to sacrifice their lives.

6. Resources in the North and in the South in 1861. In oneness of purpose and strength of conviction the advantage lay with the South in 1861. But measured by the yardstick of men, money and materials—deciding factors in a long struggle—the advantages were clearly with the North. When the war began, the North counted 23 states and a population of 22,000,000 whites. The Confederacy numbered 11 states and 9,000,000 people, 5,500,000 of whom were whites and 3,500,000 slaves. The northern whites outnumbered the southern whites four to one, and the odds on enlistments during the war were about three to two. The North controlled more than two-thirds of the banking capital and greatly exceeded the South in manufactures. The factor of transportation is all-important in war for the movement of troops and supplies. The rapid railway expansion in the North in the 1850's gave that section more than double the mileage of the South. In its vast population the North combined the factory with the farm and linked both by rails. The South on the other hand was one vast farm.

7. Southern Hopes. In the face of such apparent odds, how could the South hope to win? Apart from confidence in its cause, it hoped to use to the full the factors in its favor as well as to secure aid from other quarters. To begin with, the South counted upon a short war. It would strike before the slower-moving giant of the North could rise. Again, the South had the advantage of fighting a defensive war in its own territory. It believed its men more accustomed to arms and naturally superior soldiers to "the greasy mechanics" of the North. Finally, it had Lee, Stonewall Jackson and the two Johnstons, generals of great ability.

The South looked hopefully in four other directions. (1) It counted upon a divided North. The loyal Douglas was dead, and we shall see that the President had shameful opposition. (2) It counted upon the support of the eight border states, but received the governmental support of four

only. (3) It hoped that the mighty Mississippi would bind the agricultural West to the planting South, but we have just seen that railroads and canals had united the West and the East. Had the West seceded, the Union would have been doomed. (4) It was absolutely certain that cotton was king, that cotton was indispensable alike to northern manufacturers and British and French factories. Either northern capitalists would demand the stopping of war when the cotton supply was cut off, or Britain and France for the same reason would throw their power on the side of the South.



JEFFERSON DAVIS AS CONFEDERATE PRESIDENT

Davis (1808-89), a Mississippi planter and president of the Confederate States of America, was a West Pointer, Mexican War colonel, Representative and Senator in Congress, and Pierce's Secretary of War. President Davis was much opposed for his arbitrary action and despotic tendencies. Photograph from E. A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (1868).

The South was to learn that in 1861 cotton was not king, that old King Cotton had died of over-eating. Overproduction of cotton in 1860 had filled the cotton warehouses of Britain and the North to overflowing. Not until the winter of 1862-63 was there a cotton famine; and by that time, as we shall see, Britain had good reason not to throw her strength to the southern cause. In addition, northern wheat was a British necessity which could not lightly be sacrificed. Thus one by one southern hopes faded into thin air. But the most important factor that was to work against southern success could not be foreseen by the keenest Confederate in April, 1861. That factor was Abraham Lincoln—a man not possessed of Davis's military training, education or culture, and yet so great was his influence on the war that it has sometimes been called "Lincoln's war."

8. The Military Strategy. If the Confederates faced a tremendous task in seeking independence, the Unionists of the North likewise had a tremendous job ahead. Lincoln and the North went to war *to preserve the Union*, while Davis and the South had only to defend their independence against the invaders. The North was attempting to crush by *conquest* a compact Confederacy of 5,500,000 brave and determined Southerners,

for the non-planting whites rallied promptly to the support of the cotton interests. The Confederates could be defeated, reasoned the Unionists, first, by cutting off the South from all outside sources of supplies—munitions especially—and, second, by powerful northern thrusts crushing the Gray armies. King Cotton would be starved into submission, his sunny domains invaded and his loyal subjects brought to terms.

To bring about these two major objectives, the North planned a four-fold attack. First, an effective blockade was to be thrown around southern ports in both the Atlantic and Gulf regions. Second, the Mississippi River was to be seized. Possession of this waterway would give the West an outlet for that part of its produce which ordinarily went by way of New Orleans, and more important, it would divide the Confederacy. If Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas were separated from their sisters in secession, a powerful blow would be struck at southern strength, and the leakage of supplies through Mexico would be stopped. Third, the confederate lines were to be pushed back until every inch of seceded territory was conquered or surrendered. And finally, Richmond was to be captured for the adverse effect its loss would have upon southern spirits.

Northern eagerness for the fray burst immediately into cries of "On to Richmond!" Unable to check popular clamor, Lincoln ordered the Union army of 30,000 under General McDowell to move against the Confederates. On a hot July day in 1861 the opposing armies met at the battle of "Bull Run" (or Manassas) about 25 miles southwest of Washington. After varying fortunes McDowell's green troops were decisively defeated by a like number of equally green confederate troops under Generals Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston.[1] Before long it became clear that conquest of the South would require much time and many men. In the end victory went to the side that could muster the greater number of troops.[2]

As the war dragged on conscription was resorted to by both North and South, and opposed in both sections. Lincoln's efforts to draft men for military service resulted in a riot of huge proportions in New York City in July, 1863, necessitating the calling of federal troops. Before law and order were restored, a thousand people were killed or wounded and about $2,000,000 in property destroyed. Exemption from the draft could

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[1] In one of the southern reverses of the battle Thomas J. Jackson's men stood on a plateau awaiting the attack. A fellow officer cried out to his men, "Look at Jackson! There he stands like a stone wall," and "Stonewall" Jackson he remained thereafter.

[2] A southern student recently rejected the idea that superior numbers conquered the South. He concluded that the Confederacy was defeated from within, that it "failed from internal, political causes, mainly state rights." That differences of opinion and lack of coöperation between state and central governments in the Confederacy were largely responsible for defeat is not, however, generally accepted even in the South.

be had by payment of $300 to the government or by securing a substitute. Naturally much injustice resulted. To encourage enlistments, federal, state and many county governments offered "bounties" which went as high as $1500.

9. The Blockade of the South. Within two weeks of the fall of Sumter, Lincoln got his war plans under way by declaring the coast from Virginia to Texas under blockade. At first, however, the North's unpreparedness could not make the blockade effective. A navy of 90 vessels, less than one-half of which were in commission and officered largely by aged men, could not enforce a blockade along a coastline of 3500 miles indented with almost 200 harbors. But the North immediately began a rapid expansion of naval strength so that it had nearly 300 vessels by the close of 1861. The blockade combined with federal armies in the West to form a rapidly contracting iron ring which gradually strangled the economic and military power of the Confederacy.[1]

The effect of the blockade registered the first major victory for the North. Cotton exports, the lifeblood of the Confederacy, dropped sharply from about $200,000,000 in 1860 to $4,000,000 in 1862. By 1863 only four southern ports remained open. To stop such inroads upon the sale of their money crop, the South early in March, 1862, made a valiant effort to break the blockade. Raising the sunken frigate *Merrimac* which had been abandoned at Norfolk navy yard by the Unionists, the Confederates covered the ship with iron plates, renamed her *Virginia* and sent her into Hampton Roads on a mission of destruction. The strange craft promptly destroyed two wooden vessels and spread fear throughout the federal navy, but the *Virginia's* triumph lasted but a day. The next day an equally strange craft—John Ericsson's iron-clad *Monitor,* a "cheesebox on a raft"—encountered the *Virginia* in the Roads and battled her for four hours. Although the outcome was indecisive, the power of the *Virginia* to destroy the blockade was broken, and at the same time wooden vessels in the world's navies were doomed.

The blockade cut off the South's market for cotton and tobacco, and with this went the South's credit. It prevented importation of necessary supplies and it forced the South to adopt new occupations and raise various crops. This last effect, while largely beneficial, was difficult to accomplish, especially in the emergency. For a time a lack of the necessaries of life produced acute suffering.

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[1] The Confederacy gradually built up a naval force by construction, by commissioning privateers and by purchasing warships, largely from Great Britain. One of these, the *Alabama,* did considerable damage to northern commerce until destroyed in 1864. Britain's readiness to build ships for the South led to heated controversy verging on war between the United States and Britain.

Blockade-running alone remained to the South as a means of checking the blockade, for unless the blockade were somehow broken the Confederacy ultimately would be. To supply arms, munitions, shoes, blankets and medicines so greatly in demand, swift-moving blockade-runners moved these European goods into the South by way of Bermuda, the Bahamas, the West Indies or Mexico. Profits from successful blockade-running were large enough so that the risky business paid if a vessel got through in two out of three trips. But as time and watchful blockaders tightened the grip, the business became unprofitable. By the close of the war the Union navy had captured or destroyed 1500 vessels.

10. **The War in the West in 1862.** The Union defeat at Bull Run taught the necessity of training and disciplining the raw troops. For the task General George B. McClellan was placed in command of the "Army of the Potomac." Though an able drillmaster, he lacked confidence on the offensive and seemed to counsel a policy of delay, for at the close of 1861 he was still making preparations.

While McClellan hesitated, campaigns were beginning in the West in an effort to capture the Mississippi and thus drive a wedge into the Confederacy. Strategy seemed to point first to the seizure of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, tributaries of the Ohio reaching far into the South. In February, 1862, General U. S. Grant and Commodore A. H. Foote combined land and river forces, and after desperate fighting captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, the chief gateways to the Confederacy in that region (see map, fig. 5).

A turning point had come in the war, and a new leader seemed to be appearing on the western horizon.[1] Hammering away in western Tennessee and barely escaping defeat at the hands of the gallant Albert Sidney Johnston, Grant early in April regained Shiloh (or Pittsburgh Landing), located on the Tennessee near the southern border of the state. Within a short time the Mississippi south to Vicksburg was in Union control.

Meanwhile the drive on the Mississippi was going on elsewhere. After ten days of daring fighting late in April, 1862, Captain David G. Farragut captured the key port of New Orleans. Thus by the close of 1862 Union Forces held the mighty river except for a most important section some 200 miles in extent between Port Hudson and Vicksburg (see map, fig.

[1] The confederate officer in command of Fort Donelson, asking Grant for terms, was told, "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender. . . . I propose to move immediately upon your works." Corresponding to his initials Grant became known as "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. If these victories were a turning point in the war, they were much more a turning point in Grant's career. With a past of failure he was to prove himself the ablest Union general, and as a result find himself on the high road to the Presidency.

5). Through this area supplies continued to come from the West and Mexico.

11. The War in the West, 1863-64. With the arrival of spring in 1863 Grant waged the "most brilliant offensive campaign of the war" in an effort to take the natural fortress of Vicksburg. Faced in turn with a terrific Union offensive, superior numbers and a siege, the Confederates surrendered Vicksburg on July 4, 1863. Next to Richmond, Vicksburg was the most important point in the South. A few days later Port Hudson surrendered, so that by the middle of the year Lincoln could say, "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

But the war in the West was not over. The South, feeling keenly the loss of Albert S. Johnston and Stonewall Jackson by death in line of duty, prepared to push back the Union advances in the West. However, a series of offensives and counter-offensives in the fall of 1863 resulted only in placing Chattanooga and eastern Tennessee in Union hands. Thus the year 1863 closed with the Confederacy cut in two (see map, fig. 5). Union strategy could now be concentrated in the East.

After Grant's promotion to supreme command of the federal troops early in 1864, General William T. Sherman was placed in command in the West. Sherman was to move southeast from Chattanooga through Georgia and capture Atlanta, the railway and factory center of the South. By September, 1864, Sherman had taken Atlanta where we shall leave him and turn to events in the eastern theater of war. About a month before Atlanta fell, Admiral Farragut in "one of the hardest earned victories" of his life closed Mobile on the Gulf to southern blockade-runners.

12. The War in the East, 1862-63. By the line of the Appalachian Mountains, nature had divided the theater of war into an eastern and western section. While Grant was making his first attack in western Tennessee in 1862, popular clamor again compelled a move on Richmond. Accordingly, in April, 1862, the overcautious McClellan began the so-called "Peninsular Campaign" in the region between the James and York Rivers in Virginia. Although the Confederates were greatly outnumbered, the superior strategy and tactics of Generals Lee and Stonewall Jackson stopped the Unionists in the Seven Days' Battles (June 25-July 1, 1862) within four miles of Richmond. The federal failure cost McClellan his command. His boastful successor, John Pope, soon met with disaster at the second battle of Bull Run (August, 1862).

To the alarm of the North, Lee now advanced into northern territory but was stopped in September, 1862, at Antietam in Maryland by McClellan who had been restored to command. But the slow-moving McClellan won only a partial victory because he allowed Lee to retreat into

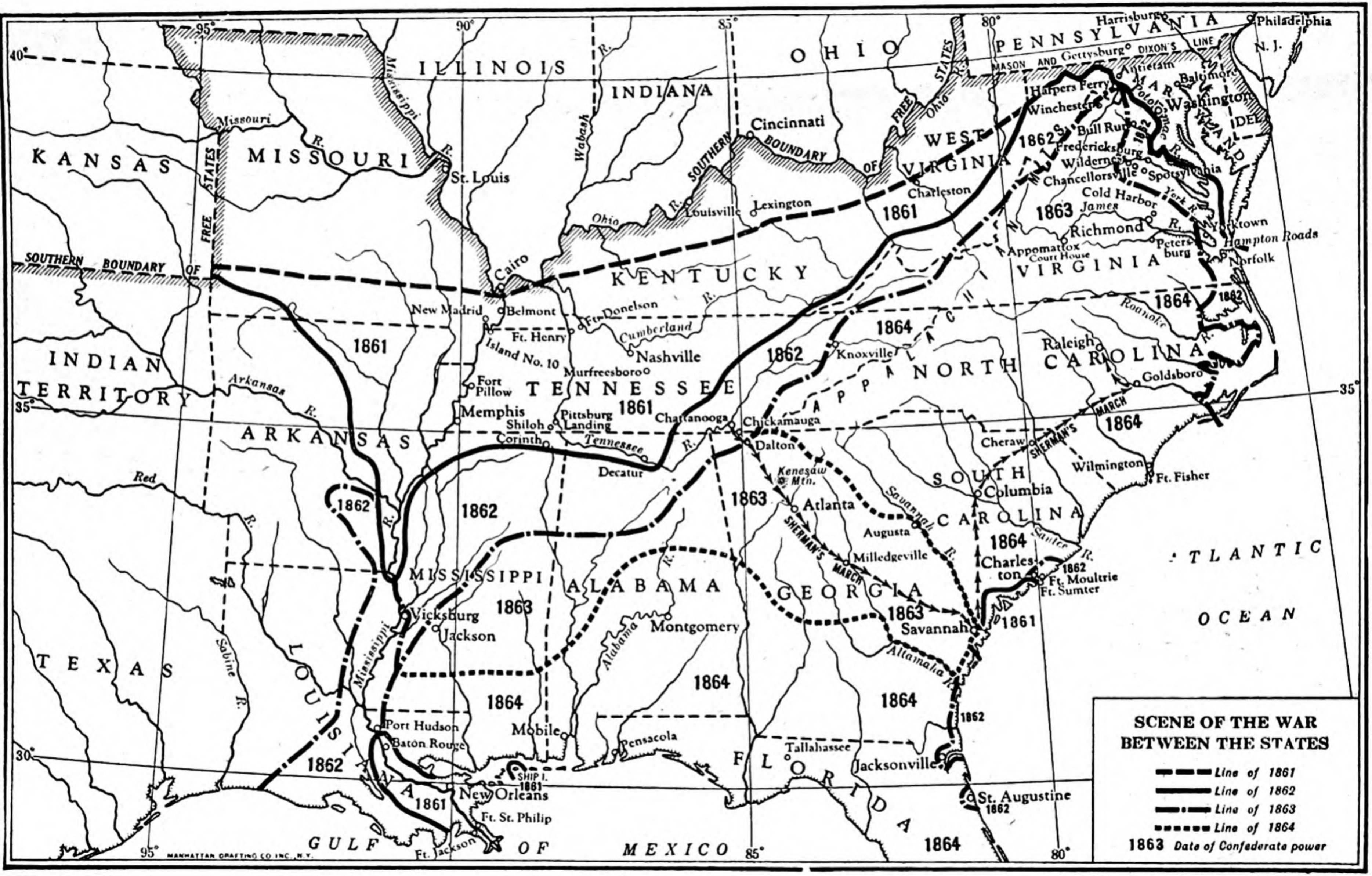
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
KANSAS
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
INDIAN TERRITORY
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
LOUISIANA
TEXAS
FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MARYLAND
DEL.
N. J.
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Wabash R.
Ohio R.
Cumberland R.
Tennessee R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Sabine R.
Alabama R.
Roanoke R.
Savannah R.
Altamaha R.
Pee Dee R.
Santee R.
York R.
James R.
Potomac R.
FREE STATES
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF
MASON AND DIXON'S LINE
St. Louis
Cincinnati
Louisville
Lexington
Cairo
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Harpers Ferry
Winchester
Baltimore
Washington
Bull Run
Fredericksburg
Wilderness
Chancellorsville
Spotsylvania
Cold Harbor
Richmond
Petersburg
Yorktown
Hampton Roads
Norfolk
Appomattox Court House
Charleston
New Madrid
Belmont
Ft. Donelson
Ft. Henry
Island No. 10
Nashville
Murfreesboro
Knoxville
Fort Pillow
Memphis
Shiloh
Pittsburg Landing
Corinth
Chattanooga
Chickamauga
Dalton
Decatur
Kenesaw Mtn.
Atlanta
Raleigh
Goldsboro
Cheraw
Wilmington
Ft. Fisher
Columbia
Augusta
Milledgeville
Charleston
Ft. Moultrie
Ft. Sumter
Savannah
Vicksburg
Jackson
Montgomery
Port Hudson
Baton Rouge
Mobile
Pensacola
Tallahassee
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
SHIP I.
New Orleans
Ft. St. Philip
Ft. Jackson
SHERMAN'S MARCH
1861
1862
1863
1864
95°
90°
85°
80°
40°
35°
30°
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. INC., N.Y.
SCENE OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES
Line of 1861
Line of 1862
Line of 1863
Line of 1864
1863 Date of Confederate power

FIG. 5

Virginia without further losses.[1] McClellan was now removed for the last time. His successor, with greatly superior man-power, suffered a disastrous defeat at Fredericksburg in December in another attempt at Richmond. The year 1862 closed in the East in a draw, but with Lee the moral victor.

The fateful third year of the war (1863) began with the Army of the Potomac again under a new commander, "Fighting Joe" Hooker. But like his predecessors he was no match for Lee, for at Chancellorsville, close by Fredericksburg, he suffered a severe and bloody defeat. Lee's victory, his last important one, was costly, for the masterly Stonewall Jackson lost his life, mistakenly shot in the darkness by his own men. Lee's brilliant victory forced a cry of despair from the sorely tried Lincoln. The Chicago *Tribune* called upon him to take field command of the army as the only leader who could bring victory. Could the Confederacy be defeated, was gravely asked.

Taking advantage of the low ebb in northern spirits, Lee again invaded the North, pushing as far as Gettysburg in southern Pennsylvania. Here under a hot sun Lee and General George G. Meade, Hooker's successor, fought a decisive three-days' battle (July 1-3, 1863). For two days Lee had the advantage, but on the third day the famous charge of Pickett's 15,000 infantry across the mile-wide valley in the face of intense Union fire ended in a terrific slaughter that compelled Lee's retreat southward. Twenty-three thousand Confederates lay dead or wounded on the field and, by their side, 18,000 men in Blue. On the next day (July 4) news reached Lincoln of Grant's victory at Vicksburg. The combined Union victory at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, together with the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation abroad, definitely led the British and with them the French to abandon all intention of supporting the Confederacy. In this sense July, 1863, was a turning of the tide for the Union.

13. **The War in the East, 1864.** The immensely popular Grant, fresh from victory in the West, now took over the supreme command of the federal armies and with Meade prepared for action in the East. Now "the war professionally began," as Sherman wrote. The plans were: (1) Grant should take or destroy Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and capture Richmond; (2) Sherman was to wipe out Johnston and take Atlanta.

Before many months passed the Unionists were to outnumber the Confederates two to one, and the Confederates were without replacements. Early in May, 1864, Grant began his offensive against Lee by crossing the Rapidan and engaging in the Wilderness campaign, opening

[1] It was immediately after the victory at Antietam that Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation.

with an indecisive two-days' battle. It was at this time that Grant sent his oft-quoted message to Halleck, "I . . . propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

Grant hammered his way through Spottsylvania and Cold Harbor suffering staggering losses, but after 45 days he was forced to stop in order to rest his exhausted men. Grant had lost 55,000 men against Lee's estimated loss of 32,000. Grant's brave soldiers wondered whether even he could "whip Bobby Lee."

In July under Lee's orders General J. A. Early made a sally on Washington and got within sight of the Capitol's dome only to hesitate on the assault. General Philip H. Sheridan later pursued Early through the Shenandoah Valley. Meanwhile, Grant turned toward Petersburg, the southern approach to Richmond, to which he laid siege.

Farther to the south Sherman was about to make his devastating march to the sea from Atlanta. Cutting themselves off from all communication, Sherman's 60,000 men set out in November on the greatest destruction of the war period. Foraging on the newly gathered crops, the troops cut a path 60 miles wide in which destruction was complete. Two hundred sixty-five miles of railroad were destroyed beyond reconstruction. Sherman's estimate of the damage was $100,000,000, four-fifths of which was "simple waste and destruction." On December 20, 1864, Sherman took possession of Savannah.

14. The Close of the War, 1865. The loss of Georgia naturally had a depressing effect upon the Confederacy. The end was near. As the spring of 1865 came, Lee feared that Grant's nine-months' siege of Petersburg might momentarily encircle Richmond, and so Lee withdrew from Petersburg and Richmond (April 2), hoping to join Johnston who was then in North Carolina. The Union forces immediately occupied the confederate capital, while Grant started on hot pursuit of the fleeing Army of Northern Virginia. Grant and Sheridan surrounded Lee 80 miles southwest of Richmond at Appomattox Court House.

Regarding further resistance as useless, Lee sought a conference with Grant, and on April 9 occurred one of the most dramatic moments of the war. Meeting in a small farm house, the two generals were a striking contrast. The tall and stately Lee appeared in a new full-dress uniform of gray, wearing a costly sword with jewel-studded hilt. The short and slightly stooped Grant wore the uniform of a private with a lieutenant-general's straps on "a blouse of dark-blue flannel unbuttoned in front," and carried no sword.

After a few brief words on their old-time army associations, Lee hurried Grant to the terms. Thinking as he wrote, Grant laid down most generous terms: Lee's army was to lay down its arms, but the officers

might retain their side arms, baggage and private horses. With graciousness appropriate to the occasion and the man, Grant ordered that all men claiming horses or mules be allowed to take them home "for the spring plowing." These terms Lee promptly accepted, and some 28,000 Confederates surrendered. At a suggestion from Lee, Grant ordered that

GRANT AT CITY POINT, 1864

"I have carefully searched the military records of both ancient and modern history," Lee is reported to have said, "and have never found Grant's superior as a general." At the close of Grant's life (1822-85) the New York *Tribune* felt that "the greatest mistake of his life was the acceptance of the presidency."

LEE AT RICHMOND, 1865

"Every inch a soldier, he [Lee (1807-70)] was an opponent not less generous and humane than formidable, a type of highest martial character; cautious, magnanimous, and bold, a very thunderbolt in war, he was self-contained in victory, but greatest in defeat." Thus wrote Charles Francis Adams who fought against Lee.

(From *A Photographic History of the Civil War* published by the Review of Reviews Corporation.)

the half-starved army be supplied with provisions. Meanwhile, outside, Union soldiers began firing salutes in celebration, but Grant quickly stopped this, saying, "The war is over; the rebels are our countrymen again." Returning to his loyal men, Lee, with tear-stained eyes, said, "We have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for

you. My heart is too full to say more." The next day he bade his army farewell and returned to Richmond, ever to remain one of the world's greatest figures despite defeat.[1]

Lee's surrender brought about the collapse of the Confederacy. By April 26 Johnston surrendered to Sherman. After four years almost to the day the war was over.

15. **Emancipation of the Slaves.** We have seen that the War between the States—the world's bloodiest conflict up to that time—was begun over the right of secession brought on by fear that the plantation-slave system was endangered. We have seen also that the North went to war to preserve the Union, but before the struggle was half over the abolition of slavery became an issue. Early in the war when the God of Battles favored the Confederacy, Lincoln and Congress could not overlook the considerable aid given the confederate cause by the work of the slaves who grew food and served as non-combatants in the army. As hope for a defeat of the South waned in 1862, Lincoln concluded that "we must free the slaves or be ourselves subdued."

Accordingly, in March, 1862, Lincoln recommended gradual emancipation with federal compensation in any state willing to accept the proposal. Not expecting confederate acceptance of the plan, Congress passed the resolution, but not even the loyal border states consented to part with their property for $400 per slave. In April and June, 1862, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia (with compensation) and in all the territories of the United States. Meanwhile, the radical abolitionists were roundly criticizing the President for not wiping out slavery at one stroke of the pen. At last Lincoln replied to his critics in a public statement:

> My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. When the above was written, the patient Lincoln had already arrived at a conclusion on abolition and

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[1] In the dark days ahead, Lee, as president of Washington College (later Washington and Lee) in Virginia turned to the task of preparing southern leaders for reconstruction. An increasing number of American and foreign authorities rank Lee as America's greatest soldier. Colonel W. R. Livermore rates him "the greatest general of the day," to which President Theodore Roosevelt agreed. An English authority calls him "one of the greatest soldiers of all times."

was merely awaiting a proper time to announce it. A month previous (July, 1862) he had bared his plans to his cabinet, but withheld them from the public until a military victory would strengthen the proclamation. Five days after the partial success at Antietam, Lincoln read the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet (September 22, 1862), and the next day the country received it with mixed feelings. "On the first day of January, . . . 1863," ran the proclamation, "all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

LINCOLN'S LAST WARNING

This cartoon appeared in *Harper's Weekly* (October 11, 1862) between the announcement of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation and the permanent proclamation of January 1, 1863. Lincoln warns: "Now, if you don't come down, I'll cut the Tree *from under you.*"

Lincoln's famous proclamation was a *war measure* taken by him as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. It applied only to the states still in rebellion 100 days later, that is, the first day of 1863. It was Lincoln's hope and strategy that the Confederacy would lay down its arms rather than lose its slaves, but not a single state yielded.[1] Unless, then, the North conquered the South, the Proclamation would not abolish slavery.

Loyal to his resolve, Lincoln on New Year's Day, 1863, issued the permanent proclamation designating the states and parts of states still in rebellion as the areas in which slaves "are, and hencefor-ward shall be, free." Tennessee, which had been largely conquered by this time, was the only confederate state not included. Within the next two years the states of West Virginia, Missouri, Maryland and Tennessee voluntarily freed their slaves.

[1] The immediate effect of the Proclamation in the South was to confirm the opinion that Lincoln was an abolitionist; in the North the fall elections reduced the administration's membership in Congress. Abroad, on the other hand, the effect was good. The British, the Liberals and common folk especially, now felt that the North was battling for free labor as against slave labor; consequently the likelihood that the government would recognize the Confederacy was greatly reduced. At home the effect on the slaves was also favorable, for the dreaded slave insurrections did not occur; and by the close of 1863, 100,000 slaves were serving in the federal armies, one-half of whom were fighting in the ranks.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT, 1865. At the close of the war, questions arose over the legality of Lincoln's action and the status of slavery in the seceded states. Congress solved the problem by approving an amendment to the Constitution providing that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime . . . , shall exist within the United States" [98, note]. By December, 1865, the required number of states ratified Amendment XIII which gave "the corpse of slavery a legal burial."

The abolition of slavery was a revolution in the social and economic life of the nation, which to some extent compensated for the terrible bloodshed. About $3,000,000,000 worth of property in slaves had been wiped out and the cornerstone of the Old South's economic system had been removed. This act was a twofold blow extremely costly to the old order. But the United States had taken its position with the British colonies and Russia which had abolished slavery (1833) and serfdom (1861), respectively.

16. Financing the War. In terms of men, "The Brothers' War" had cost about 600,000 lives, about 60 per cent of which were northern losses. Professor Beard estimates the total war expenditures in the North and South at about $5,000,000,000. Of this sum the North spent more than $3,000,000,000. This estimate, however, does not include a calculated property loss in slaves of $3,000,000,000 and a reconstruction cost of about $3,000,000,000 more by 1868. Such were the costs of preserving the Union. To raise these vast sums the government turned to taxation, loans and issuance of paper money.

By means of high and widely extended direct and indirect taxes, including various luxury taxes and the first income tax, the North raised a part of its revenues. To swell its revenues from taxation the Morrill Tariff Act was revised upward to a new high level of 47 per cent. Through the printing of about $450,000,000 in paper money, called "greenbacks," further funds were raised. With neither gold nor silver behind them, the greenbacks rose and fell with the fortunes of war until in 1864 they dropped to 39 cents on the dollar. But three-fourths of the North's revenues came from loans in the form of bonds and treasury notes sold to the public at high interest rates. To aid in the sale of these bonds as well as to regulate currency better, Congress in 1863 passed the National Bank Act.

Contrast is found in the South. Although the confederate Treasury had at the beginning a million dollars, the greater part of which had been seized from the federal mints and customs houses in the South, that money was soon exhausted. Opposed in principle to excise taxes and with little surplus capital available, the South had to rely heavily upon forced

loans and paper money. Early in 1863 a $15,000,000 loan was floated in Europe with cotton as security, but the South got only a small part of the amount. An important source of southern revenue was paper money, which reached nearly $1,000,000,000 in amount issued. This money declined rapidly in value until at the close of the war it was practically worthless. As the war wore on, the Confederacy resorted to an agricultural tax of one-tenth on all farm produce. Without gold or silver, credit or foreign trade, the South was forced literally to live off the land. With these and other disadvantages in mind, Woodrow Wilson wrote of the South:

> The great struggle was maintained by sheer spirit and devotion, in spite of constantly diminishing resources and constantly waning hope. Her whole strength was put forth, her resources spent, exhausted, annihilated; and yet with such concentration of energy that for more than three years she seemed as fully equal to the contest as did the North itself. And all for a belated principle of government, an outgrown economy, an impossible purpose.

17. Behind the Lines in the South. It will be recalled that the blockade of the Confederacy enormously lessened the value of the money crops of cotton and tobacco. Although considerable overland trade in cotton was carried on between the South and the North, it was done secretly and against the prohibitions of both governments. We have also seen that the blockade forced the South to grow various crops and in the emergency to turn to manufacturing as best it could. This forced transition in economic life came at a time when the mass of able-bodied white men between the ages of 17 and 50 were under arms.

Into the breach behind the lines the women on plantations and in towns and cities threw themselves with a devotion that was heroic. The hands of civilization were turned back a century, as household manufacturing produced shoes and clothing for civilians and soldiers. Although the former splendor and leisure of plantation life were turned into days and nights of ceaseless toil for the women folk, plantation dwellers at least had food. In the cities, on the other hand, there was real want. Bread riots broke out in some of the larger cities by the spring of 1863, while in the garden spots of the South a surplus of food crops accumulated. This gap between want and plenty was due to the virtual breakdown of the South's transportation system. With capital and materials scarce, railroad cars and rails could not be replaced as they wore out under heavy war-time traffic.

With food scarce and money declining in value prices skyrocketed. Before the end of the war flour sold for $1000 a barrel, coffee at $40 a

pound, tea at $30, and a dinner cost $20, while a pair of shoes cost $200. When the confederate currency broke down completely, northern greenbacks were accepted, but in general the South was reduced to the ancient system of exchanging goods it had for those it needed. Over this distressing scene spread the pale hand of death, for scarcely a home remained unsaddened by the loss of a father or brother.

That the Confederacy was able to avoid famine was in large measure due to the loyal service of the slaves, the mass of whom remained on the plantations and labored for the southern cause, frequently under the direction of the planter's wife. An eminent historian has recorded that "one of the strange things in this eventful history is the peaceful labor of three and one-half million Negro slaves whose presence in the South was the cause of the war and whose freedom was fought for after September, 1862, by the Northern soldiers."

18. Behind the Lines in the North. From the material ruin that was fast enveloping the South one turns to the rapidly mounting prosperity of the North during the war. As the struggle woré on, economic life in the North was greatly speeded up by the war demands. Agriculture expanded rapidly and profitably as it strove to meet the needs of the large army and to supply wheat to the British suffering from short crops. To offset the agricultural laborers called to arms, the women took to the fields in the West, the use of labor-saving machinery was extended and sturdy immigrants were welcomed. Except for cotton manufacturing, industry, aided by important inventions and protected by ever-rising tariffs, ran its wheels at top speed. Natural resources were exploited with a new vigor. Although wages rose, they failed to keep step with rising prices.

On the other hand, the war developed a group of newly rich. Millionaires increased from a handful in 1860 to hundreds during the war. Some of the wealth of the period was shamelessly acquired by the sale of "shoddy" or inferior goods to the government at high prices. While southern railroads sank into uselessness, the North was increasing its mileage. In short, the war greatly strengthened the industrial life of the North, while in the South the plantation-slave system was gasping its last breath. In one respect only did the North suffer materially. Southern privateers and high insurance rates had largely driven the United States merchant marine from the sea—a blow from which it never recovered.

With the unprecedented prosperity of the North came extravagance and the pursuit of pleasure. Theaters were crowded, huge stakes were offered at the races, and sports in general were liberally supported. Expensive jewelry, clothing and furniture found a ready sale. But this high living was largely confined to certain classes and to the cities. Death had

taken a heavier toll in the North than in the South, and all was not pleasure.

As in the South, the women gave liberally of their time and money to the sick and wounded. Under the United States Sanitary Commission, privately organized and financed, work similar to that done by the Red Cross in time of war today was generously provided on the field, in the camp and in the hospitals. The agency raised and distributed $25,000,000

SANITARY-COMMISSION NURSE AND PATIENTS

This photograph was taken at Fredericksburg in 1864. The insert is a war-time photograph of Clara Barton (1821-1912), a school teacher, who did noble relief work during the War between the States and later in the Franco-Prussian and Spanish-American Wars. In 1881 she organized the National or American Red Cross and secured the government's approval of the International Red Cross. (From *A Photographic History of the Civil War*, published by the Review of Reviews Corporation.)

in clothing, bandages, medicines, food and tobacco. Supplementing this humane work was that of the United States Christian Commission which looked particularly to the spiritual welfare of the soldiers.

19. **Politics During the War.** It has frequently been said that the supreme test of democracy comes during a war. Democracy, of course,

holds the belief that government is by the majority. If war is to be successfully conducted, it sooner or later falls under the dictatorial sway of one, or at most a very few directing geniuses, if they can be found. Democracy and dictatorship are plainly opposing forces; the latter destroys the former. The War between the States in the North was a particularly good example of the dictatorship of one man, fortunately a wise and noble man. In the South Davis also dictated, but with far less success.

CIVIL LIBERTIES. One of Lincoln's first dictatorial acts was the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* within certain areas, a power which, according to all precedent and the opinions of the Supreme Court, belonged to Congress [45]. In 1863 Congress authorized the President to suspend the writ throughout the United States, and within the year military rule was established. The purpose of these drastic actions was to crush all opposition to the life-and-death struggle facing the Union. Individuals particularly outspoken against Lincoln's war policy were speedily arrested and tried by court-martial. One of them, a former Congressman from Ohio, was banished to the confederate states for his speeches against the war effort. Editors of opposition papers who became too critical found their papers suspended and themselves clapped in prison.

The extreme "peace" Democrats, or "Copperheads" as they were called, found themselves under high suspicion. A militant minority pointed out that civil liberties guaranteed under the Constitution were being perilously swept away by "Cæsar" Lincoln, "the tyrant" [86, 89-91]. Claiming nothing but reverence for the Constitution, denying dictatorial ambitions and acting only as Commander-in-Chief to save the Union, the weary Lincoln gave two answers to his critics.

> [First,] must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? . . . I think that in such a case to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but, withal, a great mercy. [Second,] was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb.

Thus Lincoln believed that parts of the Constitution might have to be temporarily violated in order to save the Constitution as a whole and the Union.

PARTY DIVISIONS. It is important to keep in mind that Lincoln was a minority President. As the fortunes of war rose and fell so did Lincoln's popularity, but until the election of 1864 he could not count upon a ma-

jority support. The uncertainty of civil liberty, the unpopular draft acts, the high taxes and the declining value of the greenbacks made Lincoln's lot difficult. The Emancipation Proclamation widened the gap between the radical Republicans who favored it and the conservatives who would not drag in the slavery question. Even the cabinet was lacking in harmony, as the two chief secretaries led rival factions. When the Democrats registered congressional gains in 1862 and Republican mishaps piled up in 1863, the administration's reëlection in 1864 hung upon the slender thread of prompt and decisive military success.

But division was not confined to the Republicans. The Democrats were split between War Democrats and regular Democrats, the latter group loyal to the Union but highly critical of Lincoln's conduct of the war. An extreme element in this camp were the Copperheads who sympathized with the Confederacy and favored peace without victory or terms. In the South political division also appeared as the state's rights doctrine contested the power of the confederate government or as powerful groups questioned Davis's ability.

LINCOLN'S REËLECTION, 1864. In the face of such party division it was difficult to predict the political outcome in 1864. The Republicans assumed the name of the Union party for the election, hoping thereby not only to emphasize their war aim but also to capture the support of the War Democrats. Lincoln was, of course renominated; and for the Vice Presidency Andrew Johnson, a War Democrat of Tennessee, was selected. The platform praised Lincoln's conduct of the war, emphasized a fight to the finish for the Union and advocated a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

The Democrats nominated General George B. McClellan and adopted a platform which stood for the preservation of the "Union and the rights of the States unimpaired." They called for an early cessation of the war "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," and denounced the denial of civil liberties. But McClellan, remembering his brave soldiers, denied that the war was a failure or that peace was more important than Union. In August, 1864, Lincoln wrote that "it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be reëlected," and other Republican leaders had reached the same conclusion. Then gloom turned into hope as Sherman took Atlanta, Farragut captured Mobile, and Sheridan made his brilliant dash after Early. Not only had the eleventh-hour victories come, but ultimate victory was just around the corner. Grant sent the news that the Confederates were at the end of their rope in man-power, having "robbed the cradle and the grave" in their last draft. When the electoral votes were counted, Lincoln and Johnson had 212 to 21 for McClellan, but of the 4,000,000 popular votes Lincoln

received only 55 per cent. By such a margin the war was to be fought to a finish.

THE WAR HAS SIGNIFICANT RESULTS

20. Decline of State's Rights and the Supremacy of the Union. The North's victory in the war settled for all time the question of Calhoun's union of states *vs.* Webster's union of people. The Union was supreme. Military force, in crushing the Confederacy, ended the long years of political debate on the issue of state's rights. In the first place, then, the war determined that the United States *is* rather than the United States *are*. This is not to say that the states ceased to be of importance, for that is far from the truth. Within their spheres of constitutional power they remained important but not supreme. And among the rights of states nullification and secession could no longer be included.

The most important factor in forever sealing the supremacy of the federal government was the so-called economic clause of Amendment XIV (1868) [100, note]. No state, runs the clause, shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." On the surface, "person" here meant the former slave, but the framers of the clause had a less humanitarian purpose in mind. They intended that property rights should be above attack or abuse by the state legislatures in the same way that Amendment V [90, note] had protected property from Congress. The result was, in the final analysis, that the Supreme Court of the United States, far removed from popular control, would act as a final check upon every issue concerning property. A revolution in the Constitution had been wrought 80 years after its making.

The freedman was probably unaware of this clause to protect him against his former master. At any rate he brought few cases to the court. On the other hand, corporations (persons under the law) have gone to court and have had thousands of city ordinances and state laws declared unconstitutional under this amendment. Legislation designed to protect labor, to regulate railroad rates, to fix minimum wages and to control many other activities has fallen under the ban of the judiciary. Not only has federal supremacy over the states been thus achieved, but the federal government has in fact become the judge of all economic and social experimentation of the states. In the second place, then, state's rights declined rapidly as a result of Amendment XIV.

Next to the preservation of the Union came freedom for the slaves in Amendment XIII (1865), and, as we shall see, civil rights for the freedmen under Amendment XIV (1868) and political rights under Amendment XV (1870). A third result of the war, then, was not only

the end of slavery but the destruction of the old southern leadership. The former masters, as it will develop, were denied political rights, while almost overnight such rights were freely given the ex-slaves.

21. **The Economic Revolution.** Finally, the most far-reaching effect of the war was the economic revolution that it produced. King Cotton was dethroned and the planting aristocracy fell with him. No longer did the planters of the South dominate federal politics (*I, 18*). Such leadership now fell to the willing hands of the northern capitalist and western farmer. Bankrupt and without credit, the planter had to adjust himself to a radically new economic system under conditions that made his recovery seem hopeless. Not only were his slaves gone and leadership in reconstruction denied him, but he found himself "land poor," for his capital was exhausted. He soon saw his old plantations break up as he bravely tried to keep the wolf from the door. Such was the economic plight of the vanquished.

In the North the victor tallied his spoils. By the economic clause of Amendment XIV property in money or industry was reasonably safe. The high protective tariff of the war period was continued, to the satisfaction of industry. The National Bank Act again established a centralized banking system, and a ready immigration promised to supply industry with cheap labor for an indefinite period. In addition, business and industry had profited handsomely from the war prosperity, and there was an abundance of capital.

Industry was supreme: it had outrun planting and replaced the planter in political control. And it intended to keep the upper hand in politics. Before long the North was to roll in wealth that would have dazzled King Cotton. Industry had defeated planting on every front, and this supremacy was achieved under Republican leadership. In short, in the revolutionary upheaval of the war, Hamilton's industrial class had scored a victory over Jefferson's agricultural group that decades of political dueling had failed to accomplish. Significant indeed were the results of the War between the States.

Can You Use These Terms or Expressions?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. The expression "the Stars and Bars" is most properly associated with the flag: (a) carried by federal troops in the War between the States; (b) adopted by the Confederacy; (c) that the Republic of Texas adopted.
2. Secessionists were: (a) people who believed in secession; (b) citizens

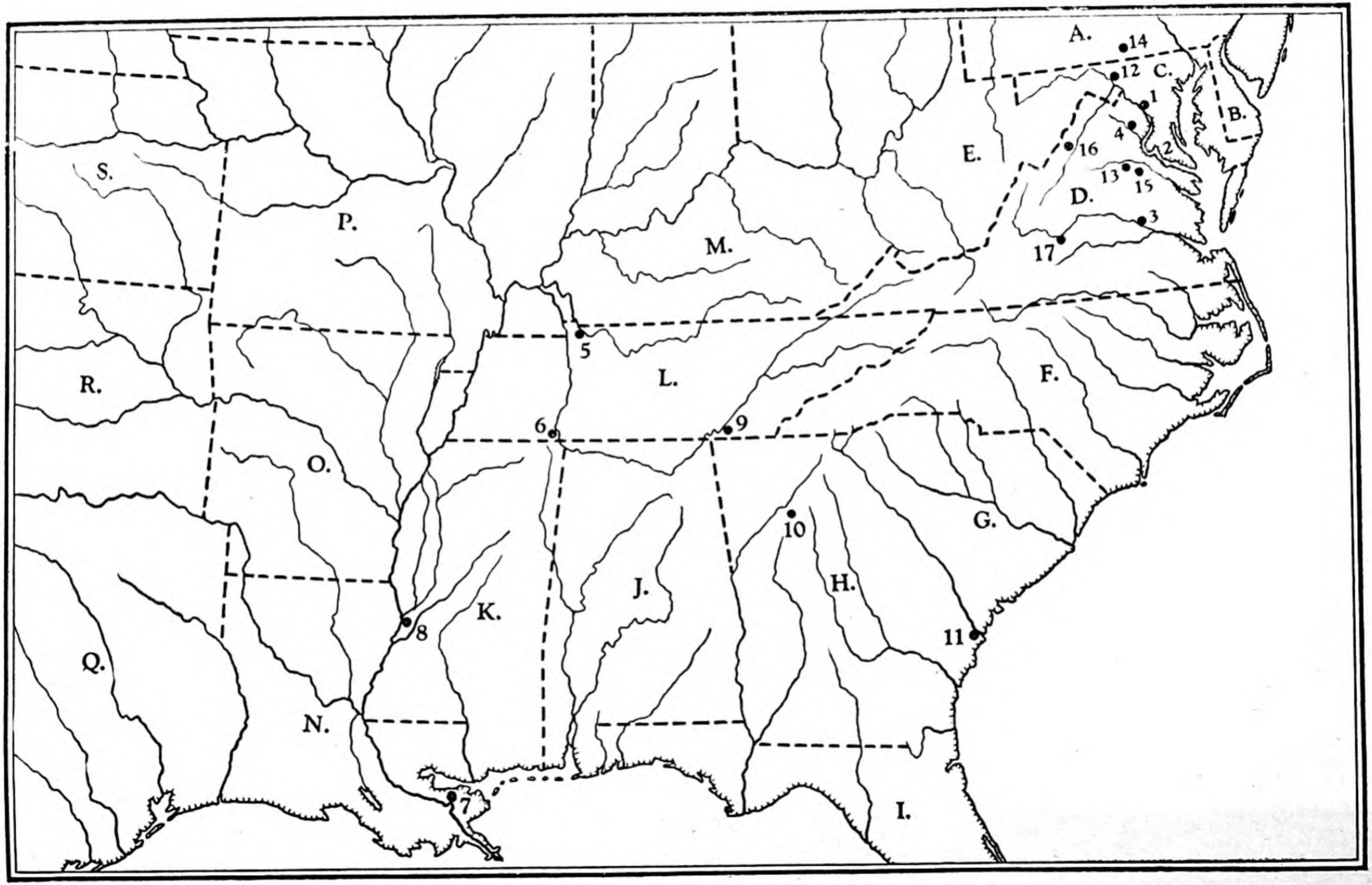
of the Confederacy who believed in the doctrine of nullification; (c) any people who believed in state's rights.

3. During the War between the States the border states were: (a) all states on either side of the Mississippi River; (b) the most northerly slave states where opinion about the right of secession was divided; (c) the first seven states to secede from the Union.
4. A "freedman" after the conflict between the northern and southern states was: (a) an American citizen; (b) any free Negro; (c) a former slave who had been declared free.
5. A merchant marine is: (a) a member of the crew on a merchant vessel; (b) the merchant shipping of a nation; (c) a peacetime need that becomes vitally necessary in times of war.
6. In the time of the War between the States a "Copperhead" was: (a) any Democrat; (b) any citizen of a Confederate state; (c) a northern Democrat who advocated an immediate negotiated peace with the Confederacy and who opposed the war policies of the federal government.
7. The War between the States is known also as the: (a) Civil War; (b) War of the Rebellion; (c) "Brothers' War."

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of the choices in the parentheses in front of the item or items. There may be items that cannot be matched. There may be others that can be matched with more than one choice.

CHOICES		ITEMS
1. President of the Confederate states	a. ( )	General George B. McClellan
2. Series of battles leading to fall of Richmond	b. ( )	General Stonewall Jackson
3. Pushed from Atlanta to Savannah in 1864	c. ( )	Ended the age of wooden war vessels
4. Decisive battle in Pennsylvania	d. ( )	Captain David G. Farragut
5. Fort Sumter	e. ( )	Jefferson Davis
6. Surrender of General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia	f. ( )	Gettysburg
7. Chancellorsville	g. ( )	General U. S. Grant
8. *Monitor* and *Virginia*	h. ( )	Alexander H. Stephens
9. Took New Orleans	i. ( )	Major Anderson
10. Checked General Lee at Antietam	j. ( )	Wilderness Campaign
11. Famous charge by General Pickett's Division	k. ( )	General Lee's last important victory


A.
14
12
C.
1
B.
4
2
E.
16
13
15
D.
3
17
M.
P.
S.
5
L.
F.
R.
6
9
O.
G.
10
J.
H.
K.
8
11
Q.
N.
7
I.

12. Took Fort Henry, Fort Donelson and Vicksburg	l. ( )	General Beauregard
13. Outstanding Confederate general killed at Chancellorsville	m. ( )	General Albert Sidney Johnston
14. Led Confederate troops in western Tennessee	n. ( )	Appomattox
15. Confederate naval leader	o. ( )	General William T. Sherman

C. Locate and label (using the indicated abbreviations) each of the following states on the outline map, p. 58:

1. Florida (Fla.); Tennessee (Tenn.); Maryland (Md.); Alabama (Ala.); Virginia (Va.); Georgia (Ga.); Missouri (Mo.); Mississippi (Miss.); South Carolina (S. Ca.); Kentucky (Ky.); Louisiana (La.); West Virginia (W. Va.); Texas; Pennsylvania (Pa.); Arkansas (Ark.); North Carolina (N. Ca.); Delaware (Del.).
2. Underscore in the above list names of all Confederate states. Circle the names of the border or slave states that did not secede.
3. Stipple lightly on the map the area of the Confederate states.
4. Match the following items by placing the appropriate letters of items in front of the proper choices indicated by the numbers on the outline map.

   a. Washington; b. Potomac River; c. Bull Run; d. Fort Donelson; e. Shiloh; f. New Orleans; g. Vicksburg; h. Chattanooga; i. Atlanta; j. Savannah; k. Richmond; l. Antietam; m. Chancellorsville; n. Gettysburg; o. Spottsylvania; p. Shenandoah Valley; q. Appomattox.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

D. Some of the following statements are true, some are false, others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. Circle the letter* **O** *if it is an opinion.*

1. **T F O** Many Southerners believed Lincoln was an abolitionist.
2. **T F O** The Republican platform upon which Lincoln was elected called for abolition of slavery.
3. **T F O** Lincoln right from the start wanted to abolish slavery.
4. **T F O** Lincoln felt that his primary responsibility as President was to preserve the Union.
5. **T F O** Pickett's charge across the valley at Gettysburg was a military blunder.
6. **T F O** General Grant had no regard for the lives of his troops.
7. **T F O** The North achieved final victory in the War between the States because it had greater manpower, industrial and agricultural resources at its disposal.

8. **T F O** General Robert E. Lee was the greatest general on either side during the War between the States according to many experts.

9. **T F O** Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation because he intended to abolish slavery.

10. **T F O** An effect of the Emancipation Proclamation was to swing British public opinion to the side of the North.

11. **T F O** General Sherman's march through Georgia was an unjustifiable act of ruthlessness.

12. **T F O** Lincoln should have abolished all slavery when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

E. Below are listed a number of items. Underscore each item that fitted into the master or grand strategy of the War between the States and which contributed directly to the final outcome of the war.

a. Fort Sumter taken; b. First and Second Battles of Bull Run; c. Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson; d. Union blockade established; e. iron-clad warships developed; f. Battle of Chancellorsville; g. Battle of Vicksburg; h. New Orleans taken; i. Chattanooga occupied; j. Fall of Atlanta and Savannah; k. Battle of Fredericksburg; l. Battle of Gettysburg; m. Petersburg besieged; n. Appomattox.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Contrast the resources of the North and of the South at the opening of the War between the States touching upon: (a) man-power; (b) military leadership; (c) industrial and agricultural facilities.
2. Give an account of the general military strategy of the War between the States including: (a) major plan of attack developed by Union forces; (b) function of the naval blockade; (c) so-called "turning points" of the War.
3. Discuss the outcome of the War between the States touching upon: (a) economic and social changes in the South; (b) the doctrine of nullification; (c) economic development in the northern states.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

For good general accounts of the "Brothers' War" try: J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chap. ix; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps. xxiv-xxvii; C. A. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II chap. xvii; H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, chaps. xxiii-xxvi; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xx-xxi, and *American Economic History*, chap. 17. For more detailed treatments consult: N. W. Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union* and *The*

Day of the Confederacy; W. Wood, *Captains of the Civil War*; and A. C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict*. If all or part of the volumes entitled *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* may be had, consult them for first-hand accounts of this war of movement.

Biographies:

Good accounts of Abraham Lincoln are: Lord Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*; W. E. Barton, *The Great Good Man*; N. W. Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*; *An Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln* edited by N. W. Stephenson. For Jefferson Davis try: W. E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*; E. Cutting, *Jefferson Davis*; M. Schaff, *Jefferson Davis*. Interesting accounts of General Lee are: G. Bradford, *Lee the American*; T. N. Page, *Robert E. Lee, the Man and Soldier*. See also F. T. Hill, *On the Trail of Grant and Lee*. G. Bradford, *Confederate Portraits* and *Union Portraits* have good accounts of other leaders of this period.

Historical Novels:

Among the many novels based on the War between the States are: I. Bacheller, *A Man for the Ages, Abraham Lincoln*; J. Boyd, *Marching On*; G. Cable, *The Cavalier*; W. Churchill, *The Crisis*; S. Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage*; C. Dowdey, *Bugles Blow No More*; G. C. Eggleston, *The Bale Marked Circle (X)*; E. Glasgow, *The Battleground*; C. Gordon, *None Shall Look Back*; J. Hergesheimer, *The Limestone Tree*; M. Johnston, *The Long Roll*; M. Kantor, *Long Remember*; E. Singmaster, *Gettysburg*. See also novels listed at end of Chapter I.

CHAPTER III

Congressional Reconstruction and Formation of the Solid South

CONFLICTING PLANS FOR POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION ARE PROPOSED

1. **The South after the War.** The war left the South crippled almost beyond description. In 1865 the South was not only defeated and crushed, but it seemed forever blighted. Where plantation luxury had held sway, poverty now sat enthroned. Henry W. Grady, a southern orator of the post-war period, speaking to a northern audience, thus described the South to which the "ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted soldier" in faded Gray returned.

> He finds his house in ruins [said Grady], his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barn empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless; his social system . . . swept away; his people without law or legal status; his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions are gone; without money, credit, employment, material, or training; and besides all this confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence—the establishment of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.

Important southern cities were half in ashes, and the rural areas had suffered severely from the plunder of war. Agriculture and trade were at a practical standstill and transportation by rail had broken down. Banks and insurance companies were bankrupt. Plantations were mortgaged beyond hope of payment as land prices fell to a fifth or a sixth of pre-war prices. The breaking up of the plantations followed as little farmers bought the divided plots and turned to cotton culture.

The Liberated Slaves. Across this stage of economic ruin marched the vast army of newly freed slaves with a laughter and swagger born of childish ignorance and the expectancy of a life of ease. The first result of freedom was the urge to shiftlessness and the desire to move about. With no thought of the morrow, tens of thousands migrated to the cities, crowded about the federal troops or roamed the country on a glorious holiday. Others waited for New Year's Day and "forty acres and a mule" which according to rumor the government would give them

from their former masters' property. Without means of a livelihood in the cities and without adequate food and clothing, starvation, epidemics and finally death mowed down the poor blacks. The aged freedmen remained close to the former masters, as did many others, and became the masters' added burden.

In time the freedman learned that life rested upon labor and that he must either work for wages or rent land on the share system. Under this system, which was soon rather generally adopted, the Negro tenants received food, tools and mules from the white owner who in return received from one-half to two-thirds of the crop. This system, slightly modified later, again fastened cotton cultivation upon the South, for it was the one thing the freedmen knew. Then, too, cotton was in great demand.

Hope for the South lay in a prompt revival of agriculture, but for several years after the war only poor crops were harvested. Despite this partial failure in agricultural recovery and despite the presence in the South of a federal army of occupation manned in part by former slaves, the South kept up its courage. In a remarkably short time cities and railroads were rebuilt, and despite all handicaps the South produced more cotton in 1870 than in 1860. But King Cotton was never to wield the power of the old days.

2. The Problems of Reconstruction. Before turning to the politics of reconstruction, it is well that the three major problems facing the country be kept in mind. (1) Governments had to be furnished most of the southern states, and after that the broken political Union had to be reëstablished. If the southern states had seceded, the conditions under which they might return would have to be determined.

(2) The civil, political and economic status of the freedmen must be established. To care temporarily for the mass of Negroes suddenly thrown upon their own resources, the federal government set up the Freedmen's Bureau (March, 1865). This organization attempted to aid the freedman in adjusting himself to his new conditions. Local agents of the Bureau helped him to find land or employment, protected him against possible enslavement, provided him with food and clothing, and strove to develop a sense of responsibility in him. Although well-intentioned and necessary, the work of the Bureau was frequently in the hands of local agents from the North who soon came into conflict with the southern whites.

(3) The ancient labor system of slavery had to be changed to one of free labor, a transition difficult to make. As we shall see, southern leadership was given no share in the *political* reconstruction, and practically no

federal aid was granted in the tremendous problem of *economic* reconstruction.

In the North two points of view existed respecting political reconstruction. The radical Republicans looked upon the seceded states as "conquered provinces," to be treated with little, if any, mercy. The leaders of this faction were Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts.

Stevens had been an uncompromising foe of slavery, and throughout his long political career remained a "hard-boiled" politician bent upon destroying the aristocratic leadership of the South. An able speaker with flashes of oratory and barbs of cruel wit, he dominated the radicals of the House with an iron will. Such was his nature that he harbored in his 75-year-old heart a fiery bitterness that approaching death did not soften. The destruction of Steven's ironworks near Gettysburg by Lee's army did not, of course, soothe his vindictive spirit. But Stevens played his game in the open, for frankness was a part of his make-up.

Sumner was a polished orator and had been a sincere opponent of slavery. Lacking a sense of humor and highly self-centered, he was more theoretical than practical. His health broken by Brooks's attack, he naturally had no tender feeling for the South.

The conservative Republicans under the leadership of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson regarded all talk about secession as futile. They were concerned only with getting the southern states back into their "proper practical relation" with the Union. All were "fellow-citizens" as Lincoln expressed it, and there was to be no hanging of leaders, no more bloodshed. Let the curtain drop forever on the divided past. Loyalty to the Union in the future was all that should be required of the crushed South. But the hand of a cruel fate was to give victory to less worthy leaders.

3. **The Martyred President.** Lincoln had steadfastly held that the southern states had not seceded but rather had been in rebellion. If they were rebels, then the President had constitutional power to pardon them [63, note]. In a proclamation of amnesty or general pardon made as early as December, 1863, Lincoln made know his plan for reconstruction. The President's three-point proposal was characterized by a tenderness befitting the great leader that he was. (1) Pardon and restoration of property, except in slaves, were held out to all Southerners who would take an oath to support the Constitution. This liberal pardon was denied, however, to all high military and civil leaders of the Confederacy. (2) As soon as one-tenth of the voters in the 1860 election in any state had taken the oath and elected state conventions to organize new state governments, the old relations of the Union would be restored. However, admission to Congress of the newly elected members would have to rest with that body

[17]. (3) The abolition of slavery would have to be acknowledged, which after February, 1865, meant acceptance of Amendment XIII.

Within the next year four states—Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee and a part of Virginia—reconstructed their governments under Lincoln's plan, but Congress refused seats to their representatives. In his last public address Lincoln urged acceptance of his plan for the benefit of both whites and blacks. It should be particularly observed that he said nothing about giving the ballot to the mass of Negroes, although by 1865 he thought that political rights might be granted to the "very intelligent" and to those who had served in the Union army.

But Lincoln's wisdom was not to prevail. On the evening of April 14, 1865—five days after Lee's surrender at Appomattox—Abraham Lincoln was shot while attending the theater in Washington with Mrs. Lincoln and several friends. The assassin was the fanatical secessionist, John Wilkes Booth, who regarded Lincoln as the arch-foe of the South.[1]

The President lingered in a state of unconsciousness for nine hours. As the bells tolled their mournful message on the following morning, the joy of relief from war was turned into a grief that was the profoundest sorrow ever experienced in this country. At the dead leader's bedside the tear-stained Secretary of War Stanton solemnly spoke the mind of America, "Now he belongs to the ages!" Over his grave at Springfield were read the immortal words of his Second Inaugural:

> With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

In the South many thoughtful persons agreed with General Johnston that "Mr. Lincoln was the best friend the South had." A few hours after Lincoln's death Andrew Johnson became President, and reconstruction was in honest, well-intentioned but less skilled hands.

4. Johnson's Plan for Reconstruction. President Johnson had been a loyal War Democrat and as military governor of Tennessee had served Lincoln courageously. At Lincoln's suggestion he was made the vice presidential candidate of the Union party in 1864. Of extremely humble origin and orphaned at the age of four, Johnson by hard work and ability was to rise from a tailor's chair to high office, although unable to write or figure until after his marriage.

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[1] Booth headed a conspiracy to wipe out the heads of the government. As he entered Lincoln's box another mad assassin forced his way into the sick room of Secretary of State Seward, stabbed him several times (fortunately not fatally), and fled.

From local politics Johnson advanced through state offices to membership in both houses of Congress. During this political career he was always a spokesman for the plain people or non-slaveholding whites and always a Jacksonian Democrat. Before the war he was against secession, and when the war came he was a strong Unionist but never a Republican. By nature he was proud and sensitive and somewhat lacking in tact—a natural reaction, perhaps, for a man always surrounded by enemies and slander. Never destined to greatness, Johnson's place in history has nevertheless improved with time.

With a few minor changes, Johnson proposed to follow Lincoln's reconstruction plan. In May, 1865, he issued an amnesty extending pardon and restoring property (except slaves) to all Southerners taking the required oath of loyalty. He excluded the leaders barred by Lincoln and added a few other groups, including those holding property worth $20,000 or more. These groups might, however, petition the President for pardon. Secondly, temporary governors were appointed in the seven unorganized states until qualified voters through state conventions could form state governments and elect legislatures which must nullify the ordinances of secession and cancel all war debts. Thirdly, each state legislature must ratify Amendment XIII. Again no attempt was made to give the ballot to the Negro. That right was left to the power and discretion of the southern whites. Again the spirit of moderation triumphed.

When Congress assembled in December, 1865, all the former confederate states except Texas had practically accepted Johnson's terms. Representatives, including former confederate Vice President Stephens, were waiting for their seats in Congress.

Although Johnson's plan had appeared popular, Congress refused to admit the southern representatives. Several reasons existed for such action. Congressional radicals felt the blacks should be given the right to vote for the purpose of checking the former confederate leaders, for it was reasonably certain that the Negroes would unite with the Republican party. Then, too, there was a growing sentiment that the former rebels were gaining too much power in reconstruction and were not showing a proper repentance when they sent the ex-confederate generals and civil leaders to Congress. Also, there were rumors and even official reports that the Negroes were not being fairly treated by the whites and in some cases were being reduced to semi-slavery.

The most important reason, however, was the growing congressional sentiment that, if the South had seceded, readmission of the states to the Union was a power of Congress under the Constitution [78]. Congressional versus presidential powers and the use of the Negro vote to prevent reconstruction by the southern whites now became the issues. Common

sense departed from the scene as the radical Republicans fought a headstrong but patriotic President, took reconstruction out of the hands of southern whites and virtually continued the war for another 12 years.

5. The Congressional Reconstruction Policy. Early in 1866 it was becoming clear that Congress did not want the President's plan for reconstruction, but as yet it had no plan of its own. The Congress, Republican by more than two-thirds, responded to the whip hand of Stevens and Sumner and appointed the famous Committee of Fifteen to investigate conditions of reconstruction.

While this investigation was being conducted, Congress passed a few preliminary acts. The radical Republicans were annoyed by the "black codes" of the southern states. These laws had restricted the civil rights of the blacks with reference especially to labor contracts, landholding, court rights and vagrancy. Consequently, Congress early in 1866 extended the life of the Freedmen's Bureau and passed the Civil Rights Bill. Both the Civil Rights Bill, which gave blacks equal civil rights with whites, and the Freedmen's Bureau Bill were passed over Johnson's veto, and the battle royal began.

AMENDMENT XIV. In June, 1866, Congress presented Amendment XIV to the states, thus assuring constitutional guarantee of civil rights to Negroes [100-04]. This long amendment provided first for citizenship and civil rights for Negroes. In the second place, any state denying the right of suffrage to male Negroes was to have its representation in the House of Representatives reduced in proportion to the number of blacks it kept from voting.[1] Third, it disqualified for both federal and state offices all Southerners who, having taken an official oath to support the Constitution, later participated in rebellion. In other words, the natural leaders of the South were barred indefinitely from sharing in political reconstruction, although Congress might remove the disability by a two-thirds vote. Fourth, the war debt of the Confederacy and all claims for freed slaves were declared void and non-payable. With respect to the debt, this was a warning to all, foreigner or native, that loans for the purpose of destroying the Union were exceedingly risky. By the summer of 1866, then, Congress was prepared to ride roughshod over the President and the South. The South responded by promptly voting against the amendment in every state except Tennessee. Tennessee accepted it and returned to the Union in July, 1866.

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[1] The radicals were troubled over the increased representation the South would get as a result of the elimination of the "three-fifths compromise" provision. Now the freedmen would count equally with the whites. They proposed, therefore, to offset this southern advantage by giving the Negro the power to vote the former slaveholder out of leadership and, incidentally, the Republican party into continued power.

THE RECONSTRUCTION ACTS. Following its investigation, the Committee of Fifteen reported its plan of reconstruction for the remaining *ten* states. The enactment of the committee's proposals spelled the doom of the Johnson plan. In a series of three acts (March-July, 1867) the congressional plan provided: (1) The South was to be divided into five military districts with each under federal troops. (2) The military commander of each district was to register all voters, blacks and whites, but the oath of allegiance was so worded as to take the vote away from many southern whites. These newly registered voters were to elect delegates to state conventions which would draft new state constitutions guaranteeing the right of voting to the blacks. These constitutions were to be submitted to the voters for their ratification and to Congress for its approval. (3) The newly elected legislatures must ratify Amendment XIV.

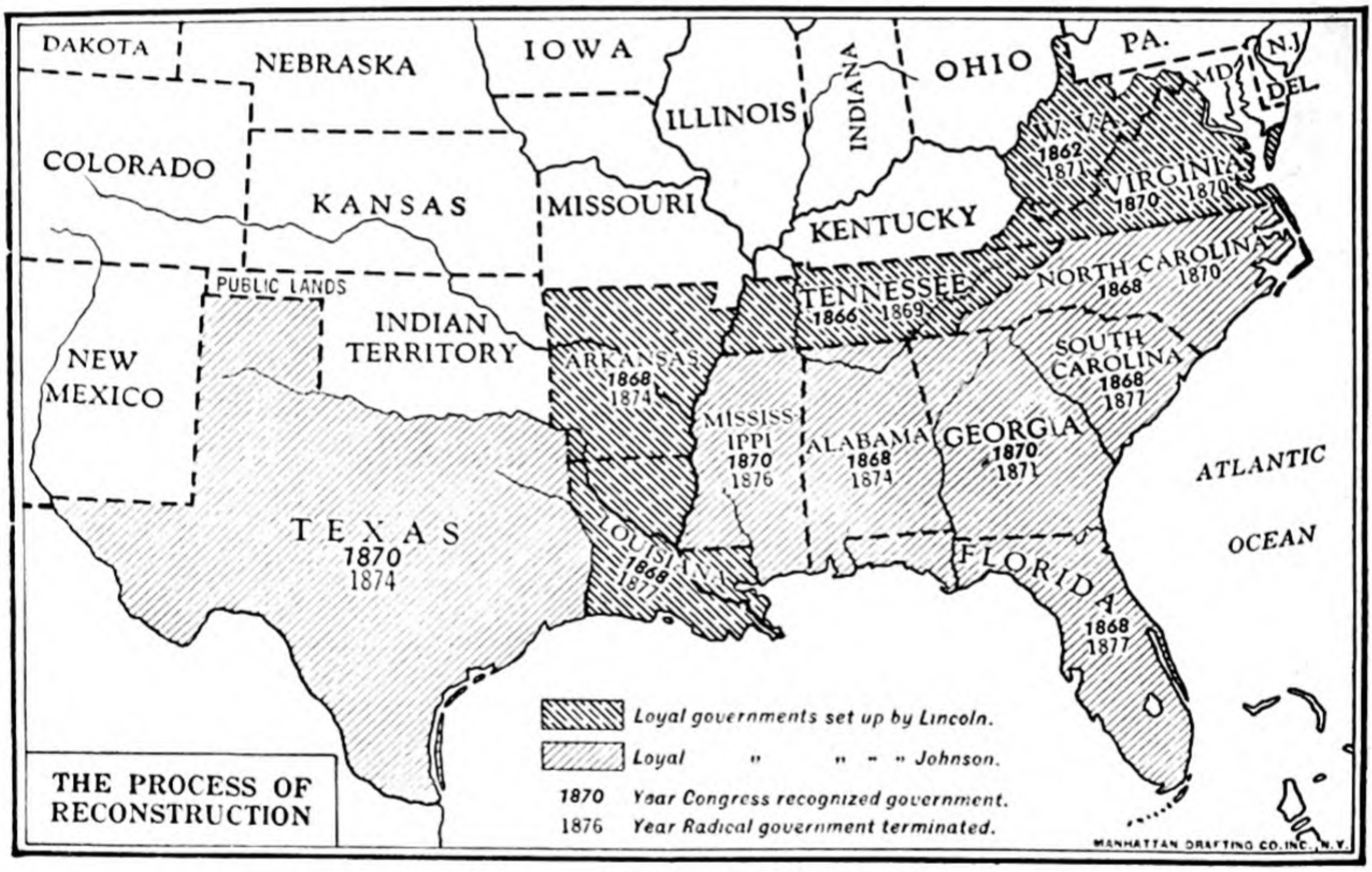


FIG. 6

Despite the extreme harshness of this plan, seven states met the distasteful terms by the spring of 1868. The three remaining states—Virginia, Texas and Mississippi—were required to ratify Amendment XV as a further cost of restoration to the Union, which was accepted by each by the spring of 1870 (see map, fig. 6). Five years after Appomattox the Union was restored. Amendment XV, ratified by the required number of states by 1870, forbade either the United States or any state to deny voting privileges to a citizen "on account of race, color, or previous con-

dition of servitude" [105, note]. This amendment was in addition to the reduction of representation clause in Amendment XIV and took away from the states the right to discriminate politically against the blacks on the three grounds stated.

The Republicans under Stevens and Sumner had cast overboard the presidential plan and replaced sympathy with revenge. By the force of the bayonet the ballot had been granted the blacks and the same privilege denied the leading whites. "Congress did a monstrous thing, and committed a great political error, if not a sin," wrote Professor Burgess, "in the creation of this new electorate." The radical Republicans had forgotten Lincoln's Second Inaugural.

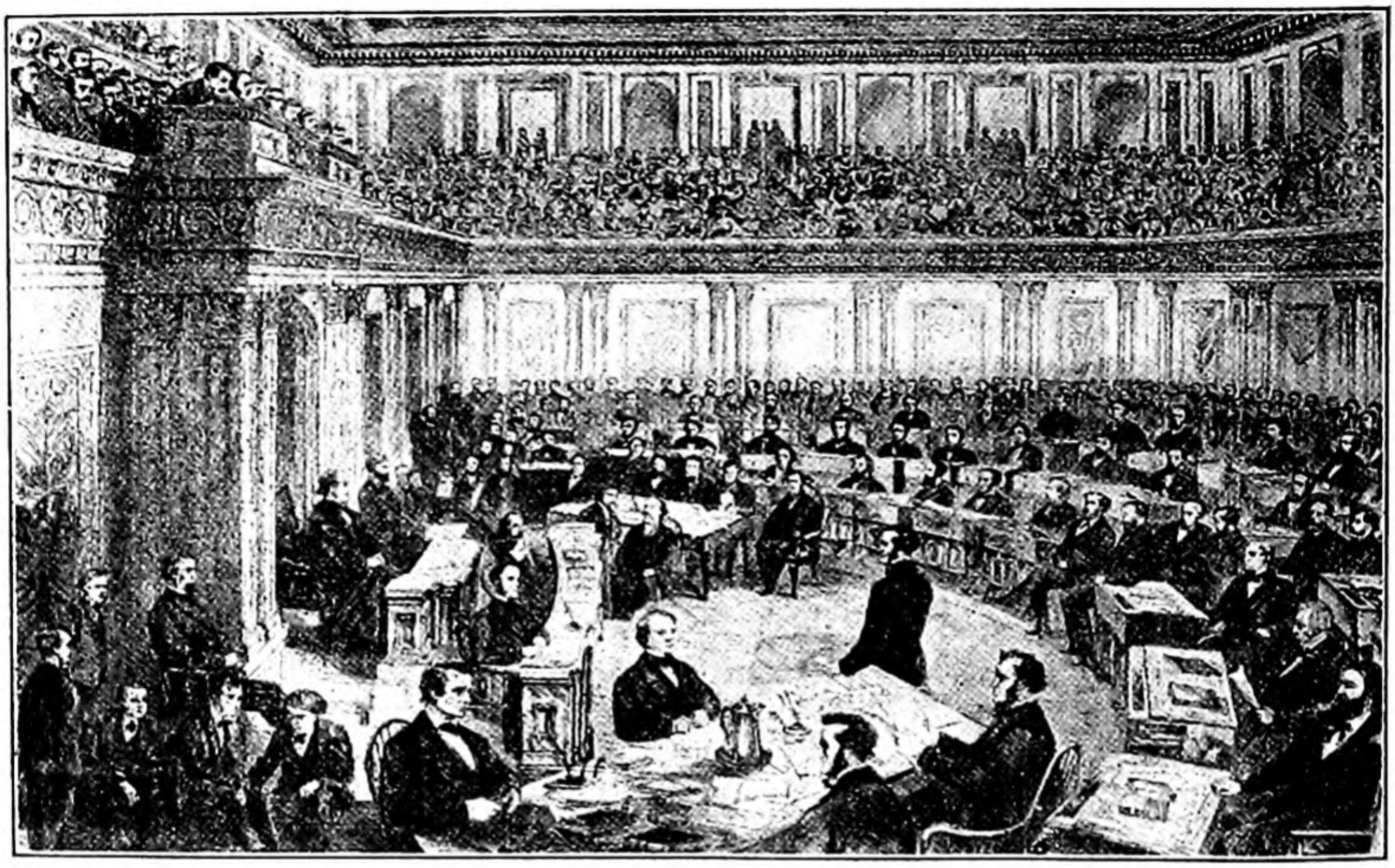
6. Johnson's Quarrel with Congress. Johnson did not see his plan scrapped without striking back at Congress. In 1866 the breach between the President and Congress widened until reconciliation became impossible. The ill-feeling was heightened by Johnson's liberal use of the veto on congressional reconstruction measures and the overriding of the vetoes by the radical Republicans.

The scene that followed can only be described as the most disgraceful presidential-congressional cat-and-dog fight ever staged. In public addresses in Washington and throughout the country in his "swinging round the circle," the President spoke so intemperately of his enemies that he began to lose popular support. The Congress now struck directly at the President's power by passing the Tenure of Office Act (March, 1867). This law prohibited him from removing civil officers without the Senate's consent and made its violation a misdemeanor. Believing the act unconstitutional, Johnson proposed to test it before the Supreme Court by suspending from office Secretary of War Stanton who by his open opposition was a thorn in the President's side. When the Senate refused to approve the action, Johnson removed Stanton, thereby apparently violating the Tenure of Office Act.

JOHNSON'S IMPEACHMENT. At last Congress had a cause for impeaching the President. Johnson's chief foe, the revengeful Stevens, now on the very edge of the grave, reported to the House 11 articles of impeachment which were accepted [7]. For the first time in history a President was impeached for "high Crimes and Misdemeanors" [67], the chief charge being violation of the Tenure of Office Act.

Defended by able lawyers, the case was brought to the bar of the Senate with Chief Justice Chase presiding [13-14]. After ten weeks of trial (March-May, 1868) the prosecution failed to prove any lawlessness on the part of Johnson, for it developed that the terms of the tenure law did not apply to Stanton, who had been appointed by Lincoln. The trial degenerated into a mere form, with the question of Johnson's conviction

not resting on any crime but wholly on his political opposition to Congress. When the Senate voted, the President was found "not guilty" by the narrow margin of one vote.[1] Several Republicans cast aside partisan hatred and saved the nation from being disgraced by a presidential conviction in a trial that was little more than a farce. Stanton now resigned,



IMPEACHMENT TRIAL OF JOHNSON

An exact sketch of the Senate Chamber during the trial, appearing in *Harper's Weekly*, April 11, 1868. Chief Justice Chase is presiding; the defense occupy the table in the foreground, and the House managers of the prosecution the other. Members of the House are seated at the side and rear of the Chamber, with the Senators in their regular places. Johnson did not attend the trial.

and Johnson was allowed to finish his term comparatively free from congressional interference.

WHITE RULE IS EVENTUALLY RESTORED IN THE SOUTH

7. The "Carpetbag" Governments. Two questions naturally arise at this point. First, why did the South accept the congressional reconstruction measures? Second, was the method of enforcement of reconstruction as brutal as the harsh measures approved by Congress? To put the first

[1] The President's power of removal without the Senate's consent was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1926, but nine years later limitations were placed on that power by the Court [64].

answer briefly, the conquered and plundered South had little choice. Pride was swallowed and the miserable business accepted in order that southern whites might get rid of the federal army of occupation and somehow get control of their own state governments. The second question requires more extended answer.

The method of enforcement has been described as the "crime" of reconstruction. The "reconstructed" states became the happy hunting grounds of corrupt politicians. From the North rushed the "carpet-baggers" who, joined by a few southern whites known as "scalawags," speedily assumed leadership over the newly enfranchised and ignorant blacks who now had the right to vote.[1] Under these circumstances conventions were called and constitutions were drawn up guaranteeing suffrage to the blacks and disfranchising the white leaders. At the same time state governments were established.

The governments that resulted and the misrule that followed are without parallel in modern history. How thoroughly government had been removed from native hands is illustrated by the fact that in seven of the states four governors, 10 of the 14 United States Senators, and 20 of the 35 Representatives were politicians who had gone South during or after the war. Scalawags and Negroes usually held lower offices, although one Negro rose to a lieutenant-governorship. Negroes were especially prominent in the legislatures, and in South Carolina they outnumbered the whites 88 to 67; in this legislature only 22 of the 155 members could read and write. In the same state there were 200 judges, it was stated, who could not read, and in several states justice practically ceased to exist as supreme court judges sought to sell decisions.

Corruption. Upon a South already prostrate, these inefficient and corrupt legislatures saddled an additional debt that in some states resulted in bankruptcy. Bribery, fraud and plain stealing were the order of the day, as legislators and executive officials extravagantly lived on the public purse.[2] Taxes increased ten and fifteen fold as the debts of the

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[1] Carpetbaggers was the term applied to adventurous Northerners who, throwing a few possessions into a carpetbag, hastened southward to qualify as political leaders and elected officials after a brief residence. Few of these Northerners went South out of a spirit of service. Scalawags, more detested than the hated carpetbaggers, were southern whites who joined the northern Republicans in the enforcement of reconstruction.

[2] In the period following the War between the States corruption was not confined to the South, for, as we shall see, it had a free hand in the North. Bad as reconstruction was, there was a constructive side to the governments which is seldom mentioned. Much-needed economic and social reconstruction was started. Roads, bridges, buildings and levees, which had been destroyed or suffered for repairs during wartime, were rebuilt. Considerable railroad building was put under way. Perhaps the most important contribution of the carpetbaggers was in the field of education. Many southern constitutions made their first provision for compulsory free public education modeled upon northern systems,

reconstructed states mounted after the war. In South Carolina, to cite an example, the State House was refurnished on a grand scale, with mirrors at $600, curtains at $1500, chandeliers at $2500, and other like expenditures. The legislature maintained a restaurant which the state operated day and night for the benefit of members, families and friends. Members' personal bills, covering every conceivable want of man or woman, were paid from the public treasury. When the Speaker lost $1000 on a horse race, the House of Representatives next day voted him a like amount as a "gratuity."

8. Southern Evasion of Congressional Terms. To all but the most revengeful, the folly of the radical Republican reconstruction was daily becoming clearer. Almost maddened by the intolerable situation, the ex-Confederates took action to bring back good sense and decency to political leadership. The first step toward driving out the unfitted freedman and corrupt carpetbagger was the formation, in 1867, of secret societies known as the Ku Klux Klan and the Knights of the White Camelia. Intended merely as a harmless frightening of the black out of his taste for politics, the weird night visits of the Klan slowly developed into cruel, violent attacks and outright lawlessness. Although such methods produced results, the leaders, fearing northern reaction, attempted unsuccessfully to disband the Klan.

To maintain Republican supremacy in the South, Congress passed the Force Acts and Ku Klux Act (1870-71) which President Grant, who succeeded Johnson in 1869, readily signed. These acts, designed to stamp out all Klan activities, empowered the President to use force against opposition, to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* if necessary, and to create federal supervision of elections. These acts practically killed the Klan, but not before it had frightened thousands of Negroes out of all desire to vote. Thus, through violence or persuasion, southern whites had evaded congressional terms.

As a result of riots, the rise of factions and quarrels among the grafters, and desertion of scalawags, the carpetbag governments began to totter. By 1875 the corrupt governments were driven from power in all but three states where federal soldiers still prevented the restoration of "home rule." An important factor in this movement was the Amnesty Act of 1872 which pardoned about 150,000 ex-Confederates. This law left about 400 still without political rights, but by 1898 they too were pardoned.

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and for the first time education was provided for Negroes. When corruption did not enter into these enterprises, conservatives usually supported them. On the whole, the new constitutions were moderate and an improvement over those replaced.

9. The Disputed Election of 1876. The Amnesty Act may be taken as a weather vane of shifting opinion in the North. The ill-advised congressional measures had caused the pendulum gradually to make its counter-swing. Although Grant had won the Presidency in 1868 by an overwhelming electoral vote, the margin of popular votes had been narrow despite the fact that eight southern states voted Republican under the domination of the black vote and the presence of federal troops.

A liberal Republican movement in 1872 was directed against the corruption and inefficiency of the Grant administration and was pledged to a more liberal southern policy. However, it failed to dislodge Grant, who was reëlected by a larger popular and electoral vote than in 1868. Nevertheless, continued political scandals at Washington, the utter hopelessness of the southern situation, and the beginning of a severe depression in 1873 resulted in a change of political opinion in the congressional elections of 1874. The voting gave the House to the Democrats for the first time since the war and increased their power in the Senate. Possibilities of Democratic capture of the Presidency in the next election were good.

In 1876 the Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, the reform governor of Ohio, as they hastened to turn their backs upon Grant, who was not adverse to a third term. The party's platform praised its war record, recalled that it had saved the country from secession and said that it was still the only bulwark against "unrepentant rebellion." But Hayes, in his letter accepting the nomination, hoped to "wipe out forever the distinction between North and South in our common country."

The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, reform governor of New York, who had fought the corruption of the Tweed Ring of New York City. The Democratic platform cried loudly for reform and accepted the war amendments as "final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war." The campaign placed the Republicans on the defensive, and many Republicans expected defeat. On the morning after the election the press generally conceded victory to Tilden as the "doubtful" states of the North went to him, but the Republican headquarters claimed Hayes the victor.

10. The Electoral Commission. As the returns came in, it was clear that Tilden had 184 electoral votes and Hayes 165, with 20 votes—those of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and one from Oregon—disputed (see map, fig. 7). Since 185 votes were necessary for election, Tilden needed but *one* of the disputed votes while Hayes needed *every one*. The Oregon vote was that of an elector who was also a postmaster, thus creating an unintentional violation of the Constitution which provided that an elector must hold no federal office [**56**]. The votes of the

three southern states, the only states still under federal bayonets, were claimed by each party.

For such a dispute the Constitution offered no solution. It merely said that the "President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted" [97]. But which set of votes should be counted, and who was to do the counting? The President of the Senate, the houses jointly or the houses separately? If the Republican President of the Senate decided, he would naturally favor his party, as would the Republican Senate.

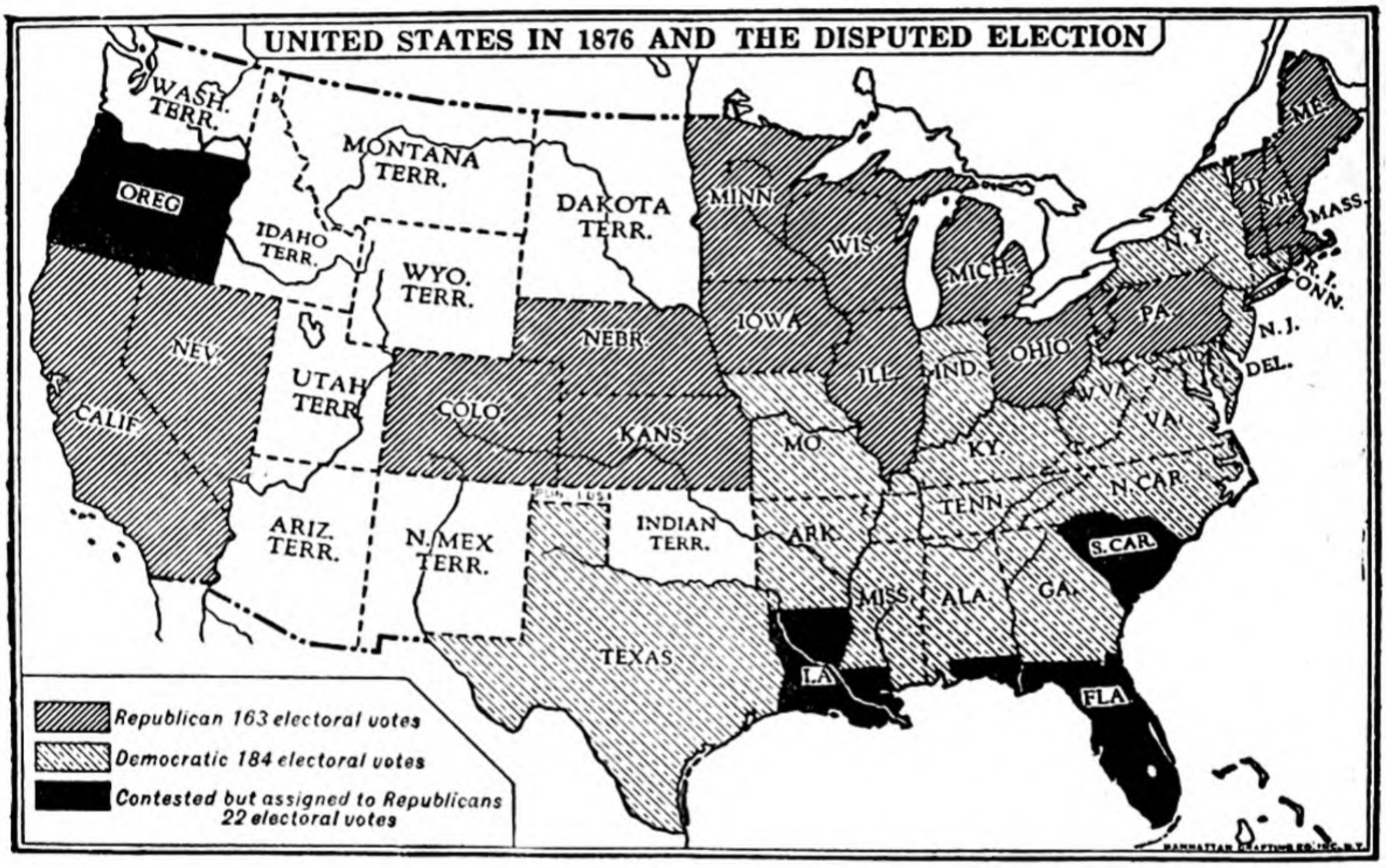

FIG. 7

If the two houses acted jointly, the greater number of House Democrats would elect Tilden. If no decision were made, the election would under the Constitution go to the House, where most certainly a Democratic majority would elect Tilden [97].

Under the circumstances compromise was proposed, and an Electoral Commission of Fifteen was provided for by Congress. This special Commission was to consist of five Senators, five Representatives and five Justices of the Supreme Court, and was empowered to determine which set of electoral votes should be accepted. When the Commission was appointed, it consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, the fifth and "independent" Justice proving to be a Republican. On each major decision the vote was eight to seven in favor of the Republicans

and all the disputed votes were awarded to Hayes, thus making him President by one vote just two days before Grant's term expired.[1] Although Tilden had received a quarter-million more popular votes than Hayes and despite the fact that the Democrats believed their candidate robbed of the Presidency, the acceptance of the decision was a splendid victory for popular government.

11. **Southern Leadership Gradually Regains Control.** The presence of the army in the South had alone sustained the weak carpetbag governments. At the same time it had done much to create hostile feeling against the radicals both in the North and the South. After the destruction of the Klan, the White Leagues of southern whites continued in a less offensive manner the work of discouraging Negro participation in politics except on the conservative side.

One of the first official acts of Hayes was the withdrawal of the last troops from the South (1877). Carpetbag government was ended, and after 12 years the disgraceful reconstruction episode was closed. One hundred years after the Declaration of Independence the country was becoming a nation. A Georgian could exclaim: "There was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." While "home rule" was restored, white leadership came but gradually.

Quietly, firmly and persistently the southern whites set about regaining the upper hand politically. By terminating federal control of elections and by disfranchising the blacks in one way or another, the whites reduced the power and the number of black voters. Beginning in 1890, new state constitutions were adopted, replacing the radical reconstruction instruments. These new constitutions included the regulations already in use that prevented many Negroes from voting. By the requirement of taxpaying, or by literacy tests, or by testing one's ability to understand or interpret the Constitution, the great mass of Negroes were denied the ballot by election officials, who used one standard for blacks and another for whites. In Louisiana, for example, literacy and property tests also disqualified the Negroes; but under the "grandfather clause" illiterate whites could vote if they or their fathers or grandfathers had voted prior to January 1, 1867.

Except for the "grandfather clause," the Supreme Court has not as a rule interfered in these political distinctions against the Negroes, for

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[1] To prevent a repetition of such a crisis, Congress in 1887 passed the Electoral Count Act which placed upon the states responsibility for determining for which candidate its electoral vote is cast. If two sets are returned, the set certified by the governor is accepted.

they do not violate the letter of Amendment XV which grants the ballot to no one but prohibits its denial on three specific grounds only [**105,** note]. The state constitutional hurdles placed in the Negroes' path substantially reduced their voting strength. In Louisiana, for example, registered colored voters dropped from 127,000 in 1896 to 5300 in 1900. In Mississippi only 37,000 blacks out of a voting population of 147,000 males could read and write. Of this number only 8615, or about one-half of one per cent, were registered under the new requirements.

It has been estimated that probably less than one-tenth of the adult Negroes are registered in the South today. In other words, about 4,000,000 blacks are kept from voting. While the blacks fared better in retaining their civil rights, nevertheless Amendment XIV took its place beside Amendment XV as parts of the Constitution the federal government has refrained from enforcing. There has been no serious attempt on the part of the North to interfere with white supremacy in the South.

12. The Solid Democratic South. One of the purposes of congressional reconstruction was to assure Republican supremacy in elections in the South by allowing the Negroes to vote. After the restoration of white rule, the net result of this frank political revolution was to create a "Solid South" for the Democrats as a protest against Republican misrule in reconstruction and the fear of Negro political domination. Whatever political differences had existed before, the white planters and small farmers joined forces to support the Democratic party, regardless of men and issues.

The "Solid South" is generally understood to be the 10 ex-Confederate states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia. These are the states upon which reconstruction fell most heavily and in which for the 50 years after 1880 the vote was usually overwhelmingly Democratic and the Republican party was an insignificant power.[1] Although never able since the War between the States to elect a President from its region, the Solid South has been rewarded by important congressional committee chairmanships and by several Speakers of the House when its party controlled Congress.

While occasional political movements, such as the Populists in the 1890's, reduced Democratic majorities, the 10 states remained solidly

[1] Tennessee is sometimes included in the Solid South because it was a confederate state; but we have seen that it quickly rejoined the Union, and it must be borne in mind that its Negro population is comparatively small. It should probably be classified with the border states which send divided delegations to Congress and which are uncertain factors in presidential elections, although they have a diminishing tendency to go Democratic. In the presidential election of 1920 Tennessee left the Democratic column for the first time.

Democratic until the 1928 victory of President Hoover. In this election the Republicans captured four states in a campaign in which several issues aroused prejudices that overcame a fifty-year habit. That the turn of the South to the Republican party was apparently temporary seems to be borne out by the fact that in the elections since 1928 the South has returned to the Democratic fold.

Observers point to two factors that may be working against the future continuation of the Solid South. First, the economic changes that have come to the "New South" have led certain southern interests to advocate the protective tariff. Secondly, the Republican party in recent years has carefully cultivated southern support by a liberal use of patronage. Against these favorable Republican factors stands the fact that recent Democratic platform declarations on the tariff read much like those of the Republicans. But above all looms the great southern fear that the Negro may again be a factor in southern politics should the Republicans achieve a revival of Negro voting.

13. The "Tragic Era" Summarized. The 12 years from 1865 to 1877—from Appomattox to the withdrawal of federal troops from the South—have been aptly called the "Tragic Era." Upon a vanquished and prostrate foe and brother, the radical Republicans, bent upon revenge, forced a plan of reconstruction that placed the former slave above the master and left both to the mercy of unscrupulous carpetbaggers who plundered the states into bankruptcy. Reconstruction—a completely wrong term—had retarded the recovery of the South for a generation if not for a half-century.

Meanwhile, at Washington, Congress was moving heaven and earth to secure a supremacy over the President not granted by the Constitution, and it further disgraced itself by subjecting the Presidency to an unwarranted impeachment. But revenge was burning itself out, and soon loud cries for simple justice arose in the North. The Stevenses and Sumners had had their day. With the troops gone, the last reconstruction governments fell, and "home rule" by whites was restored. Gradually the blacks were almost completely denied the right to vote. The Solid South of white supremacy had taken care of the Negro politically, but the difficult, unsolved racial problem remained.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

CHOICES		ITEMS
1. Northern political adventurers who established themselves in the southern states	a. ( )	Enfranchised
2. Many freedmen expected these as gifts from the federal government	b. ( )	Amnesty
3. Overall post-war program in the southern states	c. ( )	The "crime" of reconstruction
4. Denied many of the freedman's civil rights	d. ( )	Scalawag
5. Given the right to vote	e. ( )	Solid South
6. The years of northern control of the prostrate South	f. ( )	"Grandfather clause"
7. A government decree granting general pardon	g. ( )	Share system
8. Enabled resumption of cotton production with freedman furnishing labor in return for a portion of crops	h. ( )	Reconstruction
9. Southern whites who aided Republican reconstruction	i. ( )	"Forty acres and a mule"
10. Enabled some illiterate whites to vote but disfranchised freedmen	j. ( )	"Tragic Era"
11. Indicates that for years southern states always voted for the Democratic party	k. ( )	Black codes
12. Refers to enforcement of Congress' reconstruction measures	l. ( )	Carpetbaggers

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. The volume of cotton produced in the South before the War between the States: (a) has not been equaled since 1860; (b) was greater in 1870 than in 1860; (c) was not equaled until the early 1900's.
2. The problem of reconstruction of the southern states was made more complicated because: (a) little federal aid was given to economic rebuilding; (b) southern leaders were given little or no share in political reconstruction; (c) southern leaders were given too great a voice in political matters in their own states.
3. A just and fair reconstruction program was advocated by: (a) Lincoln; (b) Andrew Johnson; (c) Congress.
4. Lincoln believed that: (a) all freedmen should be given the right to vote at once; (b) the franchise should be given to freedmen who were

able to use this voting right properly; (c) the franchise should be given to Negroes who had served in the Union army.

5. Lincoln's reconstruction plan proposed that: (a) pardon and all property, except slaves, would be restored to all Southerners who guaranteed loyalty to the Constitution; (b) states would get back their former status as soon as 10 per cent of the voters of 1860 promised loyalty and took steps to organize new state governments; (c) all states accept Amendment XIII which abolished slavery.
6. The purpose of the reconstruction program backed by Congress was to: (a) assure the freedman's political and civil rights; (b) assure the continued control of Congress by the Republican party; (c) keep as many former southern leaders as possible from participating in political affairs.
7. The underlying reason why Congress tried to have President Andrew Johnson removed from office was that he: (a) vetoed some of Congress' reconstruction measures; (b) maintained the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional; (c) refused to allow Congress full voice in the reconstruction program.
8. Included in Amendment XIV were provisions that: (a) abolished slavery; (b) declared former slaves were citizens; (c) prevented the natural leaders of the South from taking part in federal, state or local government.
9. Amendment XV: (a) declared that citizens must not be disfranchised because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude"; (b) said no state could establish literacy tests to determine whether or not a citizen could vote; (c) was the last of three "Reconstruction Amendments."
10. The congressional program of reconstruction: (a) permitted unscrupulous northern and southern politicians to get control in many southern states: (b) delayed rebuilding of the South for years; (c) turned control of the southern states over to their natural leaders.
11. Such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan: (a) were intended to intimidate freedmen and unscrupulous politicians in some of the southern states; (b) enabled southern whites to regain some measure of control; (c) were outlawed by Congress.
12. In the disputed presidential election of 1876: (a) General Grant defeated Thaddeus Stevens; (b) Samuel Tilden had more popular votes than had Rutherford B. Hayes; (c) a special Electoral Commission awarded the disputed electoral votes to the Republican nominee, Rutherford B. Hayes.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. Circle the letter* **O** *if it is an opinion.*

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1. **T F O** According to Fig. 7 the contested electoral votes in the election of 1876 were those of Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, Oregon.
2. **T F O** Except for Oregon these states have been a part of the Solid South.
3. **T F O** The award of the Electoral Commission was unjustified.
4. **T F O** Had Lincoln lived the "crime" of reconstruction would not have happened.
5. **T F O** The reconstruction period is one of the most tragic periods in our history.
6. **T F O** A vengeful Congress tried unsuccessfully to impeach President Johnson.
7. **T F O** The southern states were not justified in electing former Confederate generals to represent them in the United States Senate or in other official capacity.
8. **T F O** "Congress . . . committed a great political error . . ." by granting the right to vote to the freedmen and taking it away from the leading southern whites.
9. **T F O** Such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan were justifiable.
10. **T F O** The Ku Klux Klan accomplished its purpose.
11. **T F O** Permanent Republican control of elections in the Solid South was accomplished by congressional reconstruction.
12. **T F O** In more recent years several factors have tended to break the traditional Solid South.

Summarizing Exercise

GENERALIZATION: "The 12 Years From 1865 to 1877 . . . Have Been Aptly Called the 'Tragic Era.' "

D. Below are a number of statements. If the statement supports the generalization given above, circle the letter **Y** *(yes). Circle the letter* **N** *(no) if it does not support the generalization.*

1. **Y N** At the close of the War between the States southern agriculture and trade were ruined.
2. **Y N** By 1870 cotton production in the South exceeded that of 1860.
3. **Y N** One major problem facing the country at the close of the War between the States was the establishment of the economic, social and political status of the freedmen.
4. **Y N** Unscrupulous politicians from North and South established themselves in power in the southern states.
5. **Y N** Radical Republicans refused to allow southern whites to participate in local, state and national governments.
6. **Y N** President Johnson was impeached by a Congress determined on having its own reconstruction program followed.

7. **Y N** Amendments XIII, XIV and XV are termed the "Reconstruction Amendments."
8. **Y N** Lincoln's "ten per cent" plan for reconstruction was a fair one.
9. **Y N** In the South Carolina legislature only 22 of 155 members could read and write.
10. **Y N** Economic changes in the South have broken the power of "King Cotton."

Correspondence or Class Assignments

E. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. It has been said that the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln cost the South its best friend. Justify this statement, including the following points in your argument: (a) Lincoln's political leadership contrasted to that of Andrew Johnson; (b) Lincoln's proposals for reconstruction contrasted to those of Congress.
2. Compare the problems of reconstruction that faced the nation at the close of the War between the States with those facing us at the close of the Second World War touching upon: (a) likenesses; (b) outstanding differences; (c) lessons to be learned from mistakes made during the "Tragic Era."
3. Account for the rise of the Solid South touching upon: (a) reasons why this solid political front developed; (b) how it was maintained; (c) reasons why this tradition seems to be changing.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Good general treatments of the reconstruction period may be found in: J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps, xxviii-xxx; H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, chap. xxvii; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xxii-xxiii. For fuller accounts consult: C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*; W. L. Fleming, *The Sequel to Appomattox.*

Historical Novels:

Some novels about the "Tragic Era" are: G. W. Cable, *John March, Southerner*; T. Dixon, *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman*; L. Krey, *And Tell of Time*; E. Glasgow, *The Deliverance* and *The Voice of the People*; M. Johnston, *Michael Forth*: M. Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind*; A. W. Tourgee, *A Fool's Errand.*

CHAPTER IV

Professional Politics in Government

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS SUPREME

1. A Quarter-Century of Republican Presidents. Lincoln was the first Republican to occupy the Executive Mansion, and his election was brought about by a Democratic party split wide open over the slavery question. The War between the States further shattered the Democratic party, and reconstruction manifestly reduced southern Democratic strength and leadership (*III, 5, 7, 8, 11-13*). Speaking with utter frankness in Congress early in 1867, Stevens gave Republican supremacy as "another good reason" for adopting the radical reconstruction measures. "It would insure the ascendency of the Union [Republican] party," he said. "Do you avow the party purpose? exclaims some horror-stricken demagogue. I do. For I believe, on my conscience, that on the continued ascendency of that party depends the safety of this great nation." The older Democratic party might question that it was less patriotic than the Republican, but its few votes in Congress at the time could not block Stevens.

Supported by a South made Republican through control by federal troops, Grant held the Presidency for two terms (1869-77). Retaining control of the highest American office, the Republicans by the narrow margin of one electoral vote put Hayes into office under circumstances which we have described as the disputed election of 1876 (*III, 9, 10*). Four years later General James A. Garfield of Ohio and Chester A. Arthur of New York were elected President and Vice President by 214 electoral votes to 155 for the Democrat, General Winfield S. Hancock, although by the narrow popular margin of less than 10,000. Freed from the restraints of reconstruction, the South (including the border states) was solidly Democratic, for Garfield failed to carry a single state south of the Mason and Dixon line.

During this quarter-century (1861-85), the Republicans, moreover, controlled both houses of Congress for 14 years (1861-75). They lost both houses to the Democrats only once (1881-83), although from 1875 to 1885 the Democrats controlled the House, except for two years.

2. Political Administrations from the War between the States to the Present. The closeness of the popular vote in the presidential elections of 1876 and 1880 and the marked tendency of the Democrats to capture the House between 1874 and 1882 pointed to the fact that the Democratic party was coming back. Could it again win the Presidency?

The table below indicates that during the years from 1884 to date there has been a tendency for the American voter to vacillate between Republican and Democratic presidential candidates. It will be observed that in the 15 elections between 1884 and 1940 the Republicans have won the Presidency eight times, and the Democrats seven times. Inasmuch as the Democrats have been a minority party since the War between the States, their presidential successes, as we shall see have usually been the result of no ordinary political conditions.[1]

REPUBLICAN DOMINATION, 1861–1885[a]

Abraham Lincoln	1861–1865	Republican
Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson	1865–1869	Republican (Unionist)
Ulysses S. Grant	1869–1877[a]	Republican
Rutherford B. Hayes	1877–1881	Republican
James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur	1881–1885	Republican

REPUBLICAN-DEMOCRATIC VACILLATION, 1885 TO DATE

Grover Cleveland	1885–1889	Democrat
Benjamin Harrison	1889–1893	Republican
Grover Cleveland	1893–1897	Democrat
William McKinley	1897–1901	Republican
William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt	1901–1905	Republican
Theodore Roosevelt	1905–1909	Republican
William H. Taft	1909–1913	Republican
Woodrow Wilson	1913–1921[a]	Democrat
Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge	1921–1925	Republican
Calvin Coolidge	1925–1929	Republican
Herbert Hoover	1929–1933	Republican
Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933–[b]	Democrat

[a] Two terms. [b] Three terms.

3. Third Parties Demand Reforms. The above table would convey the impression that when the American votes he casts his ballot for either a Democrat or a Republican. While the citizen usually votes for one of the major parties, he has forsaken them occasionally for a third party. When he and his fellow citizens do that to any great extent, there is

[1] In the 39 presidential elections from 1788 to 1940, the Republicans or their Hamiltonian ancestors have been victorious in 19; the Democrats or their Jeffersonian predecessors have won 20.

usually an economic reason for their dissatisfaction with the old parties. There may be, of course, some political issue at stake such as corruption, or a moral and political issue such as slavery, or there may be a demand for liberalism that the old parties will not meet. Whatever the issue, the demand is for some reform.

We have seen that before the War between the States third parties never polled a large vote, that rarely did their candidate receive electoral votes, and that the parties soon disappeared. The chief reason for the death of important third parties lies in the gradual acceptance of their ideas by the other and more conservative major parties. In other words, after the new issue (usually considered radical) is popularized by the third party, one or both of the major parties steal its thunder, and the third party has no further reason for existence. The new-born Republican party accepted the free soil plank of the radical anti-slavery third parties in the 1850's, and we shall have other examples later. An important service of third parties is to focus public attention on some projected reform until the old parties can no longer dodge the issue. At the same time the third party offers opportunity for an expression of minority opinion.

Liberal Republican Movement. Occasionally a third party in the nature of a reform group demands that the party in power purge itself of internal rottenness and corruption. Such was the case in part with the Liberal Republican movement of 1872. This group demanded that Grant's administration clean its politically corrupt house, that the southern question be removed from politics, and that the civil service and the tariff be reformed. The weakness of the movement lay in its selection of Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, as its candidate to defeat Grant, although it is doubtful if a more acceptable candidate could have won. Even though accepted by the Democrats as their candidate, Greeley received the electoral votes of only six states, and failed to carry a single northern state. The movement succeeded, however, in turning the spotlight on the need for reform.

National Prohibition Party. Also in 1872 the National Prohibition party announced its birth by demanding that the sale of intoxicating beverages be stopped through "effective legal prohibition, by both State and National Legislation." Although the party polled less than 6000 votes and never in its history received as many as 300,000 votes, it achieved its constitutional objective when Amendment XVIII [111-13] was added to the Constitution, but only after the issue had been forced upon the major parties. Few are aware that the Prohibitionists ever made any other demand for reform, yet one finds in their 1872 platform demands for woman suffrage, direct election of United States Senators, and the income tax.

GREENBACK LABOR PARTY, 1878. In the late 'sixties farmers' societies known as Patrons of Husbandry, but usually called Granges, were organized and by the early 'seventies had spread widely in the Middle West. Avowedly non-political in origin, nevertheless these secret social organizations were strongly hostile to the fast-growing monopolies of corporations and railroads. In the political field, state parties, known variously as Anti-Monopoly, Independent or Reform, sprang up and then disappeared. The farmer had not learned to organize politically.

As early as 1868 a National Labor Union of eastern workers showed concern over the unfavorable economic situation. In 1872 the National Labor party presented a platform favoring expansion of the currency through increased circulation of greenbacks. In a few years the eastern laborer and western farmer were ready to join forces to demand currency reform.

THIRD PARTIES[a]

Date	Party	Chief Issues	Chapter, Paragraph
1872	Liberal Republican	Elimination of Political Corruption	IV, 3
1872	National Prohibition	Prohibition of Alcoholic Beverages	IV, 3
1876	National Greenback[b]	Inflation through Paper Money	IV, 3
1892	Populist	Inflation through Silver	V, 5
1901	Socialist[c]	Government Ownership of Means of Production and Distribution	VI, 14
1912	Progressive	Economic, Political and Social Reform	VI, 8
1920	Farmer-Labor	Economic and Social Reform	Course 4
1924	Progressive-Socialist	Economic, Political and Social Reform	VII, 8

[a] For previous third parties, see I, 14. Dates denote appearance in national politics.
[b] The Independent or Greenback party became the Greenback Labor party in 1878.
[c] Union of seceding faction of Socialist Labor party (founded 1892) and Social Democratic party (founded 1897). A conservative-liberal split occurred in 1936.

The result was the formation of the Greenback party in 1876, which two years later became the Greenback Labor party. Not only did this party demand immediate inflation (more money in use), but it pledged its members to "vote only for men who entirely abandon old party lines and organizations." In the congressional elections (1878) this new party gathered about a million votes. Here was a force with which to reckon. Would it, like a snowball rolling downhill, gather both speed and size, or would the sun of returning prosperity melt it? In 1884 the Greenback

party, as such, fought its last battle, but the dispersed soldiers of ill fortune carried their guns with them for future warfare under the banner of Populism.

In the foregoing table are listed the important third parties since the War between the States. Related to each one is some political, social or economic issue capable of moving thousands and even millions of voters to protest.

DEMOCRACY FINDS ITSELF IN DANGER

4. Scandals in Grant's Administration. In recent pages the theme of corruption has been introduced. We now turn to the ghastly tale of that monster's misdoings. In the first place, we must note that corruption after the War between the States was by no means confined to the Southern states, but that the corruption phase of the "tragic era" spread throughout the North and involved city, state and federal governments. In the second place, it should be borne in mind that this story deals with democracy at its worst, with public conscience at its lowest ebb and with both parties scandalously involved.

IN FOR IT.
U. S. "I hope I shall get to the bottom soon."

"DEMOCRACY AT ITS WORST"
Thomas Nast, famed cartoonist, gives attention to a major cause of corruption in *Harper's Weekly*, March 25, 1876. What other causes permit wholesale corruption under a democratic government?

CONGRESSIONAL CORRUPTION. In national affairs no department of government was apparently free of wrongdoing. In 1872 the so-called *Crédit Mobilier* scandal was brought to light. An investigation revealed that scandalously generous contracts to build and equip the Union Pacific Railroad (1865-69) had been awarded to the *Crédit Mobilier*. This construction company was owned by leading stockholders of the railroad, who thus had bestowed these contracts upon themselves. Because of government aid for the road, this

action was an indirect theft of public moneys. To avoid congressional interference, a Massachusetts Congressman and stockholder distributed some *Crédit Mobilier* stock in Congress where it would "do most good," thus resorting to a form of bribery. When the investigation was over, Grant's two Vice Presidents (Colfax and Wilson) were tainted, several Congressmen censured, and a Senator disgraced.

In 1873 Congress passed the "Salary Grab" Act by which it voted itself an increase of $2500 per year, making the increase apply also to the past two years. In other words, there was not only the increase but a "back-pay steal" of $5000 for the previous two-year period. Many who voted for the bill were defeated for reëlection by an outraged public.

In 1876 the country was again shocked when evidence seemed to point the finger of scorn at the popular James G. Blaine, Republican House leader. As Speaker of the House, Blaine was charged in 1871 with accepting favors from certain railroads. Whether he was involved in wrongdoing or not, appointment to the Senate after the House investigation began saved him from further House action.

CABINET SCANDALS. Meanwhile, the President's official family was in trouble. In 1875 an honest Secretary of the Treasury dug up evidence that the government had been cheated of nearly $3,000,000 in unpaid internal revenue taxes. A "Whiskey Ring" consisting of revenue officers at St. Louis and others at Washington was in league with the distillers in the fraud. When the trail of corruption reached the President's private secretary, General Babcock, the public was shocked. Babcock was tried, and Grant was a character witness for him. Although he was acquitted, public clamor compelled him to resign.

In 1876 the Secretary of War, Belknap, was impeached for graft in connection with the Indian Service. According to the evidence, the Secretary had been receiving large payments from an official for the privilege of retaining office. Belknap resigned under fire, and Grant accepted the resignation. Uncertain whether it could convict a man no longer in office, the Senate acquitted another disgraced official.

Never before or since this period has corruption in national affairs reached such sorry heights. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, Republican, speaking in the trial of Belknap, summarized the shameful situation as it developed during his own brief public career.

> I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration [he said]. . . . I have seen the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House . . . rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school [West Point]. When the greatest

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railroad of the world [Union Pacific] . . . was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress . . . that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office that the true way by which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service. . . . I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President.[1]

5. Corruption in High Places in the States. On smaller stages the tragedy of corruption was being acted in certain states. In 1868 the *Nation* declared that "there is hardly a legislature in the country which is not suspected of corruption; there is hardly a court over which the same suspicion does not hang." The power of the legislatures to grant franchises and charters to banks, road companies, railroads and other businesses presented many opportunities for bribery, fraud and corruption. If outright bribery was not engaged in, contributions were made by the favored businesses to the campaign chests of the party in power, or of both parties in the event the "outs" secured office. The precise form of fraud, the political party reaping the ill-gotten rewards, and the extent of the corruption varied with the states, but everywhere the situation was similar.

In New York State an agreement divided the spoils between up-state Republicans and city Democrats, while in Pennsylvania the legislature was dominated by a Republican who was later succeeded by his son. The West was also affected by the times. In Illinois shortly after the Civil War millions were corruptly authorized over a governor's veto, and in Wisconsin the railroads worked with the politicians to the mutual advantage of each group. In Iowa and Minnesota public funds were stolen by dishonest officials. In Missouri and Kansas bribery in elections was resorted to on a large scale in order to keep the political machine in power.

6. New York City's Tweed Ring. On yet a third stage—that of city government—was the art of corruption practised. The most notorious example among cities was the unparalleled public thefts of the Tweed Ring in New York City. In 1869 "Boss" Tweed became the local

[1] Grant's loyalty to his ill-chosen friends and advisors, his acceptance of a pair of horses and a carriage from a member of the Whiskey Ring, and his hostility toward real reform advocated by a few members of his administration, cast a heavy shadow over him. Clearly Grant was a victim of his friends, for no dishonesty was attached to him personally. In his last message to Congress, he wrote: "Failures have been errors of judgment, not of intent." If Grant had understood men as well as he did horses, there might have been less corruption. Owing to the dishonesty of trusted business friends, Grant was left bankrupt a year before his death. Suffering the agonies of a painful disease, he turned to the writing of his *Memoirs* that its sale might remove the dishonor of his innocent deb

Democratic leader and head of Tammany Hall, a political machine which traced its origin to the late 1700's. At the moment Tammany's power extended even to the state government. Through the awarding of contracts, appointments and licenses, and the control of court actions, the Ring stole an undetermined amount variously estimated at $45,000,000 to $200,000,000. Aroused at length by Thomas Nast's cartoons in *Harper's Weekly* and the editorials of the New York *Times*, the public moved for the punishment of the Ring. Tweed was tried, found guilty and sent to jail, where, it is said, he died penniless and friendless in 1878.

If New York had its Democratic Tweed Ring, many other cities went through similar experiences on a smaller scale in the post-war period. The question arises, Why did faithless public servants in federal, state and city governments thrive at this time and remain so long unchecked? A number of factors combined to make corruption almost unavoidable: (1) reckless war-time spending coupled with a decline in public morals in the post-war period, (2) the nation's feverish growth which gave more opportunities for graft, (3) the great growth in wealth and power of big business, (4) government by professional politicians, and (5) the public's alarming lack of concern toward official wrongdoing.

THE NATION REACTS AGAINST CORRUPTION

7. The Spoils System. In certain quarters there was a tendency to blame the low morality of the public service upon the vicious system of appointment to civil offices known as the Spoils System. This system, as we know, Jackson defended in the 1830's as good democratic doctrine and indeed called a "reform." Regardless of party, Jackson's successors extended the practice, so that the 20 years between 1845 and 1865 represent the high-water mark of government by the spoils system. Under the system offices were the spoils of the victors, officeholders were regularly assessed a part of their salaries for campaign funds, and rotation in office was accepted as a matter of course.

The expansion of offices during the War between the States increased the spoils considerably. Lincoln, the first Republican President, was faced with a hungry mob of office-seekers he could not evade. The result was that he removed over 1400 officials, or 88 per cent of the offices within his control—the cleanest sweep in the history of federal spoils. The demands upon the Presidents were terrific. Harrison's death one month after taking office (1841) has been attributed indirectly to the hounding of thousands intent upon the spoils.

Presidents might complain about the system, as practically all did; they might even favor reform, for after all they were the greatest victims.

Pathetic indeed is Lincoln's position in the opening days of the war, with the fate of the nation in the balance. "The palace is in flames," he lamented, "but instead of being allowed to put out the fire, I must needs attend to applicants for apartments in the burning building." The fact is that the spoils system had a strangle hold upon government. It seemed indispensable to practical politics.

We have seen that political parties supply the personnel and the principles and issues of government. They are, indeed, the motive power that keeps the wheels of government moving. We have noted also that parties require organization, machinery and the labor of countless loyal workers. Occasional rewards of offices for the successful party workers form the binding force that holds the organization together and ready for the next party battle. This human factor, plus the money required to keep the machine in working order, brings the spoils system into its unholy alliance with corruption. There are, of course, numerous ways of getting funds legitimately. One other factor fastening the spoils system upon the country is far from unimportant. Because of "senatorial courtesy" and the congressional privilege of suggesting appointees to the President, Congressmen and Senators have been hesitant to scrap the system, however bad it may be.

GINX'S BABY

A cartoon by Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, April 3, 1875, represents the unsuccessful effort of Grant to effect civil service reform. Grant in his bewilderment says: "Both parties say they love it. But——" Why do major political parties seldom initiate reforms?

8. President Hayes and Reform. When Hayes took office (March, 1877), his was a position not to be envied. He assumed leadership of a country torn by the memorably unpleasant election of 1876. The South was still smarting under partial federal occupation, and the Republican party was suffering from the recent corruption under Grant.

Conscientious to a degree, Hayes proceeded to put campaign declarations into effect and immediately got into trouble with his party. Within six weeks after removing federal troops from the South, he had lost the support of most of the Republican leaders who had no sympathy with "the old-woman policy of Granny Hayes." Deserted by his party and

opposed in one and later both houses of Congress by a Democratic majority, the President trod a rough uphill road, but with head erect and unashamed.

In his Inaugural Address Hayes called for a "thorough, radical, and complete" reform of the civil service. He also asked for a "return to the principles and practices of the founders of the Government," and reminded all that a President "serves his party best who serves the country best." These words were promptly followed by action. He forbade collection of money from officeholders for use of the party and barred federal officials from directing political organizations. He included in his cabinet Carl Schurz, a former liberal Republican and a thoroughgoing civil service reformer, and he reappointed a reformer as postmaster in New York.

But when President Hayes turned his attention to the New York Customs House, through which went three-quarters of our imports, he stepped upon the special preserve of Senator Conkling, the Republican state boss. The spoils system in operation there exhibited the system at its worst. Five Republican collectors of the port had made 1678 removals in 1565 business days, and the service grew steadily worse. For the past six years Chester A. Arthur, the chief lieutenant of Conkling, had served as collector. Acting upon the advice of an investigating commission, Hayes asked for the resignation of the leading customs officials, including Arthur and the chairmen of the state and national Republican committees. Backed by Conkling, the two men refused to resign, whereupon Hayes removed them, thus opening a fight between the powerful New York machine and the administration.

In the end Hayes succeeded in getting new men appointed, but his courageous fight for reform against such leaders lost him congressional support for necessary reform legislation. Nevertheless he had demonstrated what reform could do in improving service and morale in the nation's largest post office and customs house and thereby earned the gratitude of the intelligent few who placed government above party.

9. Assassination of Garfield. When James A. Garfield succeeded Hayes in 1881 (*1*), reformers were hopeful for the future, for the new President had been a reform advocate for ten years. However, Garfield had unhappily been involved in the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal, and money had been collected from federal employees to fill his campaign chest. In addition, the administration opened with a flood of removals for partisan reasons. On the other hand, he openly broke with Conkling of New York over the patronage or spoils question, and indirectly drove Senators Conkling and Platt from office, for they had resigned in a huff and the

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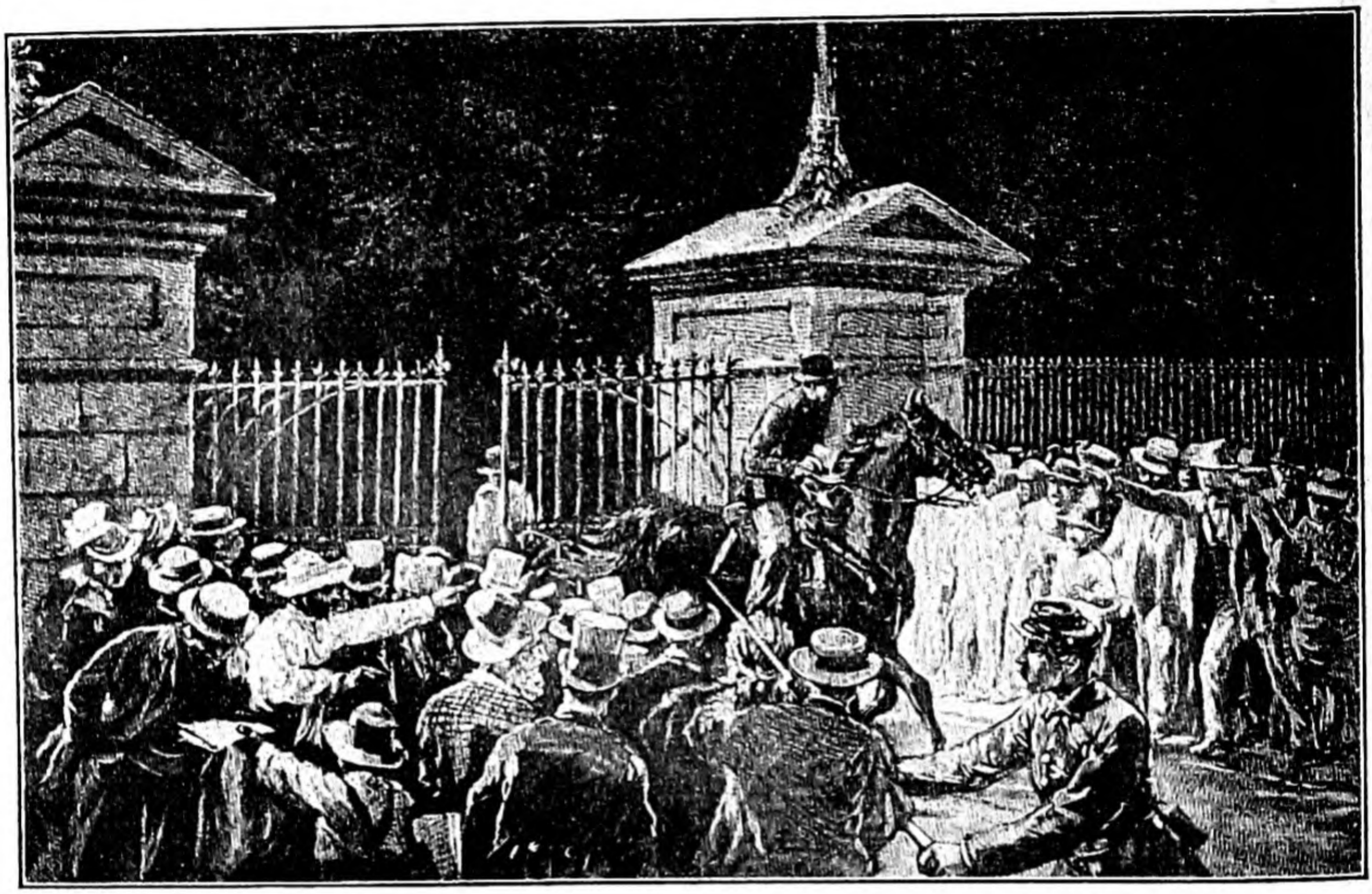
New York legislature failed to reëlect them. The President was evidently attempting to please both politicians and reformers.

What his final policy toward reform was to be cannot be known, for on July 2, 1881, as he was about to take a train at Washington, Garfield was shot twice in the back by one Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker. Lingering through the hot summer months, the second President to die by an assassin's bullet passed away on September 19.



THE NIGHT-WATCH BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE MANSION

"The whole country seemed to watch at his [Garfield's] bedside . . . a nation awoke at morning with the fervent hope that the President still lived," wrote a contemporary journalist. At his death the nation was shocked into reform of the spoils system. From *Harper's Weekly*, July 8, 1881.

On the next day Chester A. Arthur, who had been made the vice presidential candidate to satisfy the Conkling faction, succeeded to the Presidency.[1]

The shocking death of Garfield had two important political effects. First and immediate, the Conkling spoilsman who had been removed

[1] In 1792 Congress had provided that presidential succession upon the death of the Vice President should be by the temporary president of the Senate followed by the Speaker of the House. It was thus possible for such a successor to be of the opposition party. It so happened that, when Arthur succeeded to the Presidency, the Senate had not yet elected a presiding officer and the House had not yet organized. The sudden death of Arthur would have left the country without a President. To remedy such defects of

from the New York port collectorship by Hayes became President. Second, the sacrifice of a President upon the altar of the spoils system had at last stirred the public mind to the urgent need of civil service reform. When "Chet" Arthur took office the reformers threw up their hands and counted all as lost. But it was soon evident that President Arthur was a far different man from Collector Arthur.

When Arthur refused to play partisan politics in Conkling's state, the boss parted company with him. When in his first annual message to Congress he recommended civil service reform and stated a willingness to support any reform bill enacted, the reformers were dumbfounded. True to his high purpose, he was soon to sign the Pendleton Civil Service Act, the very basis of federal civil service reform. In other respects Arthur was to show an independence of the past and an intelligent grasp of constructive politics that reached the border of statesmanship. He vetoed a Chinese exclusion bill that lightly set aside a treaty obligation. He vetoed a wasteful rivers and harbors appropriations bill, or "pork barrel" legislation, a pet measure of professional politicians.[1] He stood for tariff reform and helped to create a modern navy. Despite his commendable record, Arthur was not to receive a deserved nomination in 1884, for he was rejected by the politicians and not fully trusted by the reformers.

10. **Civil Service Reform.** The enactment of civil service reform was by all odds the outstanding achievement of Arthur's administration. But such legislation came only after years of ceaseless agitation and about 30 years of trial in Great Britain. Toward the close of Johnson's administration (in 1868), Representative Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island, "the father of Civil Service reform," laid before Congress a report urging reform. Three years later the President was empowered to make necessary regulations to improve the efficiency of the civil service. Accordingly, President Grant appointed a commission, but it soon lapsed for

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the old act, Congress passed the Presidential Succession Act of 1886 which provided for succession by cabinet members in order of the creation of the seven departments then in existence [60, note]. An easy way to remember the order (if necessary), is to keep in mind the imaginary St. Wapni, each letter of which stands for one department, as State, Treasury, War, Attorney-General, etc. In the event that neither the President nor the Vice President qualifies in time, Congress is empowered to make necessary provisions under Amendment XX [118].

[1] "Pork barrel" legislation secures for a Congressman's district as much "pork" or public appropriations as possible for such purposes as the rather unnecessary dredging of a local river or harbor, or the construction of a costly post office. Since all Congressmen wish to impress upon their followers that they have local interests at heart, there is a decided tendency for them to aid other Congressmen, in the confident expectation that they too will be supported in their local appropriations. This coöperation, done with charming frankness, is called "log-rolling," a term borrowed from the frontier where pioneers helped a neighbor clear the land, roll the logs and build his cabin.

want of appropriations, and all attempts by Grant and Hayes to revive the commission failed to move Congress.

The assassination of Garfield, however, swelled the ranks and voices of the reformers to such an extent that Congress could no longer delay action. While the murdered President lay dying, the National Civil Service Reform League was organized. The early reform advocates were targets of abuse at the hands of those who benefited from corruption. The reformers were called "goody-goodies" and "exceedingly holy and wise," and the reform was nicknamed the "snivel service."

Pendleton Civil Service Act, 1883. When the Pendleton Civil Service Act came before Congress, it faced hot debate and much ridicule. One member said that as a method of selecting officials he would "prefer draw-poker or tossing coppers" to the ridiculous examination questions asked. Years later President Taft, turning the tables, said: "If we selected employees according to the length of their noses, it would be better than the political spoils system of appointment." With debate ended, the bill was passed by Congress, was signed by the President in January, 1883, and the way was opened for the "Merit System" in civil service.

The act provided for: (1) a commission of three with representation from both major parties, empowered to enforce rules acceptable to the President over all offices on the "classified list" or competitive list; (2) "open, competitive examinations" of a practical nature for all offices classified or later to be classified, with appointments or promotions from those "graded highest"; (3) a period of probation before permanent appointment; (4) prohibition of all assessments on government employees for use of political parties; (5) no removals for political reasons; and (6) the extension of the classified list at the discretion of the President, the list to begin with the departments at Washington and customs houses and post offices having more than 50 employees.

Thus was laid the cornerstone of civil service reform, but the building was yet to be erected, for the above offices were but one-tenth of the civil offices in 1884. The merit system thus inaugurated spread to the states. In 1883 New York adopted a reform law and a year later Massachusetts fell into line. By July, 1941, 19 states and 900 cities had adopted the merit system in whole or in part.

11. **Extension of the Classified or Competitive List.** Starting in 1884 with 14,000 on the classified list, the number by June 30, 1941, was over 990,000 or about three-fourths of the executive civil service. These additions to the classified list have been made by order of the President or legislation of Congress. Among the Presidents, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft and Franklin D. Roosevelt did most to advance the re-

form (see fig. 8). The action of Cleveland was especially commendable when one considers that his Democratic supporters had been out of office for a quarter-century and were starving for office.

Civil service reform made steady progress until McKinley's time when it was checked. Again, however, it went forward until the First World War expanded the service to more than 900,000 and introduced many exemptions despite Wilson's friendliness toward reform. One of the most important steps in the history of this reform was the passage in 1940 of the Ramspeck Civil Service Act which made effective Franklin D. Roosevelt's earlier recommendation to extend the merit system "upward,

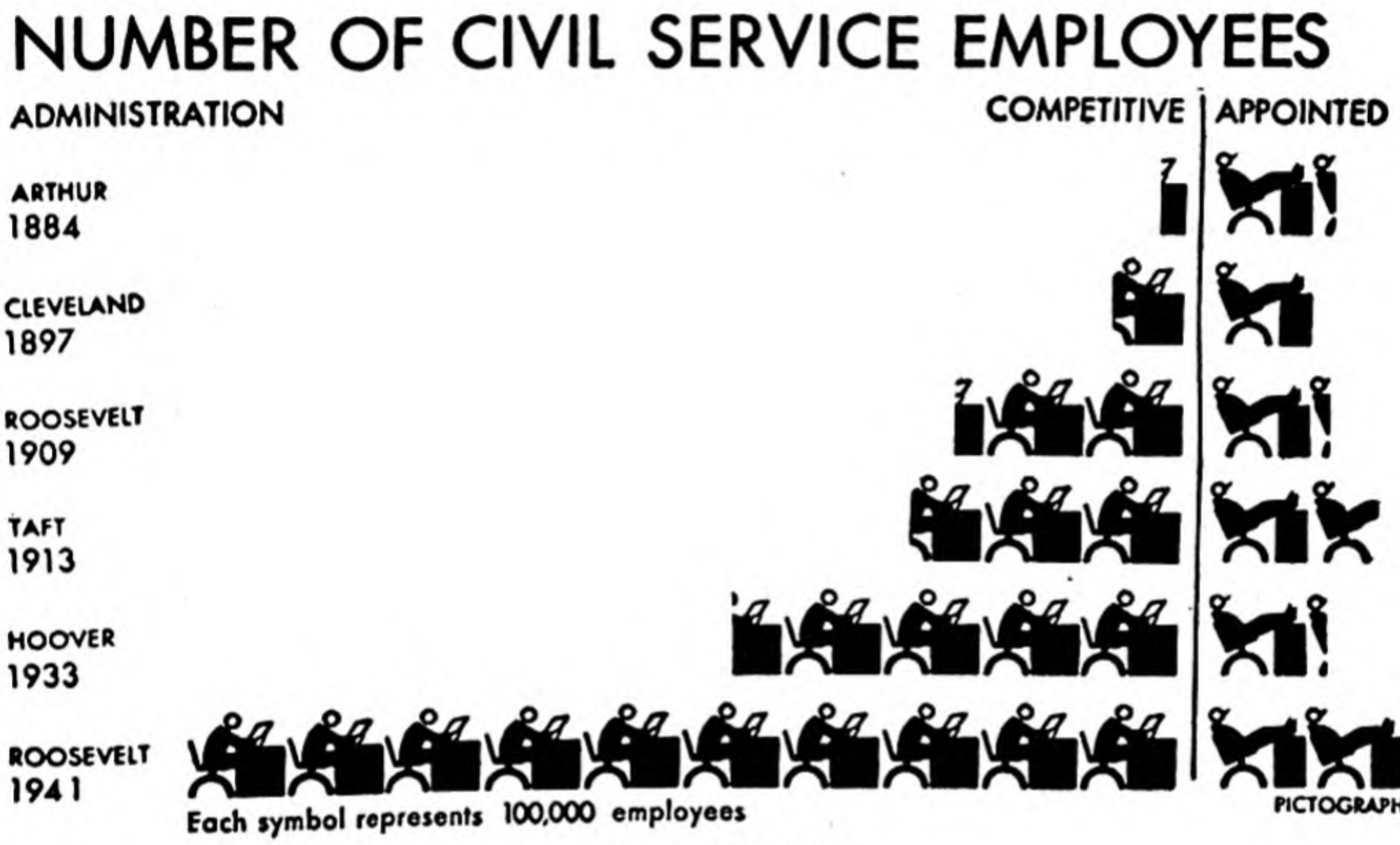

FIG. 8

Encouraging as is the trend on the left of the line, it is obvious that future progress in civil service reform lies in reducing the numbers on the right side. To do this requires extension of the "merit system upward, outward and downward to cover practically all non-policy determining posts," to use Franklin D. Roosevelt's words.

outward and downward." This act authorized the President to make extensive additions to the classified list, excluding positions requiring senatorial confirmation, a few agencies such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Work Projects Administration, and certain positions exempted under civil service rules. Accordingly the President signed an order which added more than 180,000 to the classified list by January, 1942. By an act of 1938, about 15,000 postmasters were put on the classified list. It was also decided that most of the positions required by the rapidly expanding needs of national defense be filled through competitive examinations.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. In American politics a third party usually is considered to be: (a) a major party: (b) the Democratic or Republican party; (c) a minor party demanding reform of some kind.
2. The *Crédit Mobilier* was: (a) a railroad construction company; (b) the center of a scandal involving high government officials; (c) a government bank.
3. The "Whiskey Ring" of the 1870's was a: (a) bootleg organization; (b) a group of government officials and distillers working together to cheat the government out of taxes on liquor; (c) scheme to corner the whiskey supply and force up prices.
4. The Spoils System was: (a) the method used in selecting appointees for government clerkships; (b) a scheme used by politicians to reward loyal party workers; (c) one form of political corruption.
5. In general, civil service employees are: (a) civilians appointed as government workers; (b) elected officials; (c) government officials and clerks who carry out policies and programs established by elected officers, the cabinet, commissions and boards.
6. The Merit System: (a) replaced the Spoils System; (b) established the classified list; (c) is used to select applicants for civil service appointments.
7. "Pork barrel" legislation: (a) is a means of obtaining local and often unnecessary benefits; (b) enables a member of the legislature to please the voters back home; (c) encourages "log-rolling."

Do You Know The Facts?

B. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items. There may be items that cannot be matched. There may be others that can be matched with more than one choice.

CHOICES	ITEMS
1. "The father of Civil Service reform"	a. ( ) James A. Garfield
2. President who broke with his party bosses and signed the Pendleton Civil Service Act	b. ( ) Thomas Nast
3. Democratic President who extended the merit system	c. ( ) Rutherford B. Hayes
4. His assassination awakened the public to need for civil service reform	d. ( ) Greenback Labor party

CHOICES		ITEMS
5. Impeached for graft in Grant's administration	e. ( )	Chester A. Arthur
6. President who opened campaign for civil service reform	f. ( )	Thomas A. Jenckes
7. His cartoons exposed New York's Tweed Ring	g. ( )	Secretary of War Belknap
8. Minor party that accomplished its end after years of struggle	h. ( )	Grover Cleveland
9. Governor of mid-western state removed for graft	i. ( )	National Prohibition Party
10. Third party that gathered a million votes	j. ( )	Andrew Johnson

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *If there is not sufficient information in the chapter to provide a specific answer concerning this opinion, circle the letters* **NI**.

1. **T F O NI** During the 20 years after the War between the States there was great graft and corruption in local, state and national politics.
2. **T F O NI** Graft and corruption are inevitable in politics.
3. **T F O NI** In more recent years corruption in national politics has exceeded that of Grant's administration.
4. **T F O NI** An aroused public opinion can check corrupt politics.
5. **T F O NI** Only three states have adopted the merit system because political machines consistently have blocked progress in civil service reform.
6. **T F O NI** The merit system should be extended to cover all except "policy determining posts."
7. **T F O NI** Since the latter 1800's the merit system has been extended "upward, outward and downward."
8. **T F O NI** A person who casts his ballot for a third party candidate is throwing his vote away because minor party candidates are seldom, if ever, elected.
9. **T F O NI** Reforms demanded by minor parties are desirable.

Summarizing Exercise

D. Below are listed eight statements concerning the content of this chapter. Underscore the four statements which taken together could be used as a summary of the main thought in this chapter.

1. The Democratic party was weakened greatly after the War between the States.
2. Grant's Secretary of War was impeached for graft.
3. During the latter 1800's there was much graft and corruption in politics.
4. President James A. Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office-seeker.
5. The merit system has been extended widely since the latter 1800's in national, state and local governments.
6. Third party reform movements gathered considerable strength during the 1870's and 1880's.
7. Rutherford B. Hayes believed that a President "serves his party best who serves the country best."
8. The Pendleton Act establishing the merit system was passed in 1883.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. What is meant by the term "party machine"? Give three examples to show the connection between graft and party machines. Describe the struggle that led up to the passage of the Pendleton Act in 1883.
2. Define and give an example of each of the following: (a) civil service; (b) merit system; (c) classified list. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of our civil service system today.
3. Show briefly how each of five of the following aided civil service reform in the United States: Chester A. Arthur; Thomas Nast; James A. Garfield; Thomas A. Jenckes; Grover Cleveland; William H. Taft; Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Some general accounts of conditions that led to civil service reform are: J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps. xxx, xxxiii, xxxiv; H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, pp. 813-21; and H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chap. xxvii. Fuller treatments are to be found in: S. P. Orth, *The Boss and the Machine*, chaps. iii-vi; C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, chaps. xiii, xxii. For an account of how political parties operate, see R. E. Keohane, M. P. Keohane and J. D. McGoldrick, *Government in Action*, chap. vi; and C. A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, chaps. vii, xxv.

Historical Novels:

Some novels touching upon this period are: W. Churchill, *Coniston*; H. Adams, *Democracy, An American Novel*; M. Twain and C. D. Warner, *The Gilded Age*; H. Garland, *A Spoil of Office*; A. C. Train, *Tassels on Her Boots*.

Half-Course Review and Self-Check (Chapters I-IV)

Are You Familiar With Names and Events?

A. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of the choices in the parentheses in front of the item or items.

CHOICES		ITEMS
1. Abolitionist editor of *The Liberator*	a. ( )	John Quincy Adams
2. Wanted to follow Lincoln's reconstruction plans but was impeached by a hostile Congress	b. ( )	Dred Scott
3. Sponsored the principle of popular sovereignty	c. ( )	Eli Whitney
4. Ablest Union general who later became President	d. ( )	David G. Farragut
5. Fanatical abolitionist raider	e. ( )	Harriet Beecher Stowe
6. The Supreme Court in his case held that Congress could not forbid slavery in the territories	f. ( )	Robert E. Lee
7. President of the Confederate States	g. ( )	Andrew Johnson
8. Fought the "gag" resolution	h. ( )	William Lloyd Garrison
9. Became President after contested election of 1876	i. ( )	Grover Cleveland
10. His cotton gin increased cotton production	j. ( )	Rutherford B. Hayes
11. Greatest Confederate general	k. ( )	Abraham Lincoln
12. Wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*	l. ( )	John Brown
13. Captured the key port of New Orleans	m. ( )	Stephen A. Douglas
14. Proposed the 10 per cent program of reconstruction	n. ( )	U. S. Grant
15. First Democratic President after the War between the States	o. ( )	Jefferson Davis

Do You Know These Principal Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. During the years up to the mid-1800's the South developed an economic system fundamentally: (a) agricultural: (b) industrial; (c) a combination of agriculture and industry.
2. The abolition movement in the North in the 1830's and '40's was generally: (a) popular; (b) unpopular; (c) regarded with suspicion.
3. The Republican party platforms in 1856 and 1860 proposed: (a) to abolish slavery; (b) check its spread into the territories; (c) not to interfere with slavery in states where it was established.
4. The Kansas-Nebraska Act: (a) reopened the slave question in a territory where it had been thought settled; (b) proposed that popular sovereignty determine the status of slavery in those areas; (c) voided the Missouri Compromise.
5. The Compromise of 1850 was concerned with the status of slavery in: (a) Kansas; (b) Missouri; (c) the territory acquired as a result of our war with Mexico.
6. The fundamental causes of the War between the States were: (a) South Carolina's secession; (b) growing hostility to slavery in the North; (c) the doctrine of state's rights.
7. The Emancipation Proclamation stated that: (a) all slaves were now free; (b) slavery was unconstitutional; (c) slaves owned by people fighting against the Union now were free.
8. The turning point in the eastern campaigns of the War between the States was the Battle of: (a) Chancellorsville; (b) Vicksburg; (c) Gettysburg.
9. The Amendment to the Constitution that expressly forbade the South's natural leaders to vote or hold office after the War between the States was: (a) Amendment XIII; (b) Amendment XIV; (c) Amendment XV.
10. At the opening of the War between the States the North had the better: (a) industrial and financial resources; (b) military leaders; (c) transportation lines.
11. Examples of corrupt politics during the period of reconstruction were the: (a) Teapot Dome Scandal; (b) *Crédit Mobilier*; (c) Tweed Ring.
12. During the reconstruction period southern politics was dominated by: (a) carpetbaggers and scalawags; (b) the Ku Klux Klan; (c) the Democratic party.
13. The Lincoln-Johnson programs of reconstruction were set aside because: (a) Congress wanted to assure the political and civil rights of the freedmen; (b) the Republicans thought this would be a means of strengthening their own party in the southern states; (c) Congress felt the Lincoln-Johnson plans were too harsh.

14. During the years following the War between the States: (a) minor party demands for reform made headway; (b) third party movements were of no consequence; (c) the Democratic party controlled national affairs.
15. The growing power of party machines was checked somewhat in the 1880's by: (a) establishment of the merit system; (b) passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Act; (c) the efficient administrations of President Grant.

What Ideas Have You About the Development of American Democracy?

C. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. Circle the letter* **O** *if it is an opinion.*

1. **T F O** A vigilant public opinion may check corrupt political practices.
2. **T F O** The sole object of the congressional reconstruction program was to punish the South.
3. **T F O** The North went to war primarily to free the slaves.
4. **T F O** Had Lincoln lived, the shameful tragedy of reconstruction would not have occurred.
5. **T F O** Douglas's doctrine of popular or "squatter" sovereignty offered the most practical solution to the slave controversy.
6. **T F O** Negro slavery was alien to the fundamental principles of American democracy.
7. **T F O** One of America's greatest problems today concerns the political, economic and social status of Negroes.
8. **T F O** In general, third party movements tend to promote democracy because they enable minorities to make their wants known.

See "How To Use This Book," p. vi, concerning your course essay.

CHAPTER V

The Revolt Against Conservative Rule

THE DEMOCRATS RETURN TO POWER UNDER CLEVELAND

1. **The Reforming 'Eighties.** The civil service reform was but one indication that the public was tiring of professional politicians. During the 'eighties demands were made for tariff reform, for state prohibition of the sale of liquors, for prompt punishment of corrupt officials, and for a number of other social, economic and political reforms. The Republican party was losing its hold upon the voters, for in 1882 the Republican states of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts elected Democratic "reform" governors, and New York turned to the Democratic reform mayor of Buffalo, Grover Cleveland, as its governor. In the midst of this discontent with the old order, there descended upon the American people a business depression to increase their burdens. Henry George, unsuccessful candidate of the Union Labor party for mayor of New York, spoke for the workingmen of the cities:

> There devolves upon us the task of removing industrial slavery. . . . This is at once a revolt against political corruption and social injustice. Look over our vast city, and what do we see? On one side a very few men richer by far than it is good for men to be, and on the other side a great mass of men and women struggling and worrying and wearying to get a most pitiful living. . . . We have hordes of citizens living in want and in vice born of want, existing under conditions that would appall a heathen. . . . Why should there be such abject poverty in this city? . . . Years ago I came to this city from the West . . . and I saw and recognized for the first time the shocking contrast between monstrous wealth and debasing want. . . . Is it not our duty as citizens to address ourselves to the adjustment of social wrongs . . . ? We are beginning a movement for the abolition of industrial slavery. . . .

Out of the West came the cry of a Senator from the agricultural state of Nebraska, emphasizing the greed of monopoly and the unequal distribution of wealth.

> Since 1872 [said the Senator], the great corporations have stifled the cry of the people, have paralyzed Legislatures and Congress. . . . Today

the farmers in the West are working their own farms on shares, the railroads taking the lion's share; they receive not a dollar profit or interest on money invested. . . . Look at Kansas and Nebraska, great and rich in the wealth of their soil, the energy and intelligence of their people; yet Jay Gould [New York financier], who neither toils nor spins, has greater wealth than the assessed property, real and personal, of both States. And Vanderbilt [New York capitalist] could buy both States, their farms and lands, villages and cities, hotels, banks, manufactories, and railroads, and have a snug fortune of $40,000,000 left for the necessaries of life and to keep the wolf from the door.

Would the western farmer and eastern laborer unite in protest at the polls in the presidential election of 1884, either in a third-party movement or by turning to a major party pledged to reform by platform and candidate?

2. The Political Upheaval of 1884. The Republican convention met first in 1884 and, failing to reward the constructive work of Arthur, nominated James G. Blaine, the "Man from Maine." Twice previously had Blaine been rejected by his party. This time the prize was awarded to him for, as Senator Platt put it, "It is now Blaine's turn." The platform advocated a protective tariff, extension of civil service and regulation of railroads.

Blaine's nomination disgusted the reform element of the Republican party, which promptly formed an Independent movement and promised support to the Democrats if a strong reform candidate were nominated. The "regular" Republican faction nicknamed the reformers "Mugwumps." This term, borrowed from the Indian language, meant "big chief" or persons who attached great importance to themselves and their actions. Some of the most powerful papers supported the Mugwump cause.

The Democrats responded to the invitation of the Mugwumps and nominated Grover Cleveland who was governing New York without fear or favor. "They love him most for the enemies that he has made," proudly declared a supporter. The Democratic platform called for reduced tariffs, economy, and "honest" civil service.

The campaign, however, was not to be waged on platform differences but on the marked differences between candidates. For almost 20 years Blaine had been prominent in national affairs as Speaker of the House, as Republican minority leader, as Senator and as Secretary of State under Garfield.

In contrast, Cleveland, son of a Presbyterian minister, was an unknown lawyer who had been a sheriff in western New York state, the "veto mayor" of Buffalo for a year (1881), and then reform governor of the

Empire State. He probably had not spent more than a day in the nation's capital. Blaine was magnetic in person, a thrilling orator and a fascinator of people. Cleveland was a blunt, plodding, rather commonplace individual without oratorical skill. Blaine was a leader who stayed with the crowd and avoided putting himself on record, while Cleveland was out ahead of the crowd and manfully took a definite stand on issues regardless of its effect upon his political fortunes. "I have tried so hard to do right," were almost the last words spoken by this rare man in politics. Cleveland was of sterling honesty in speech, purpose and act—a sincere reformer; Blaine was a past master at professional politics.

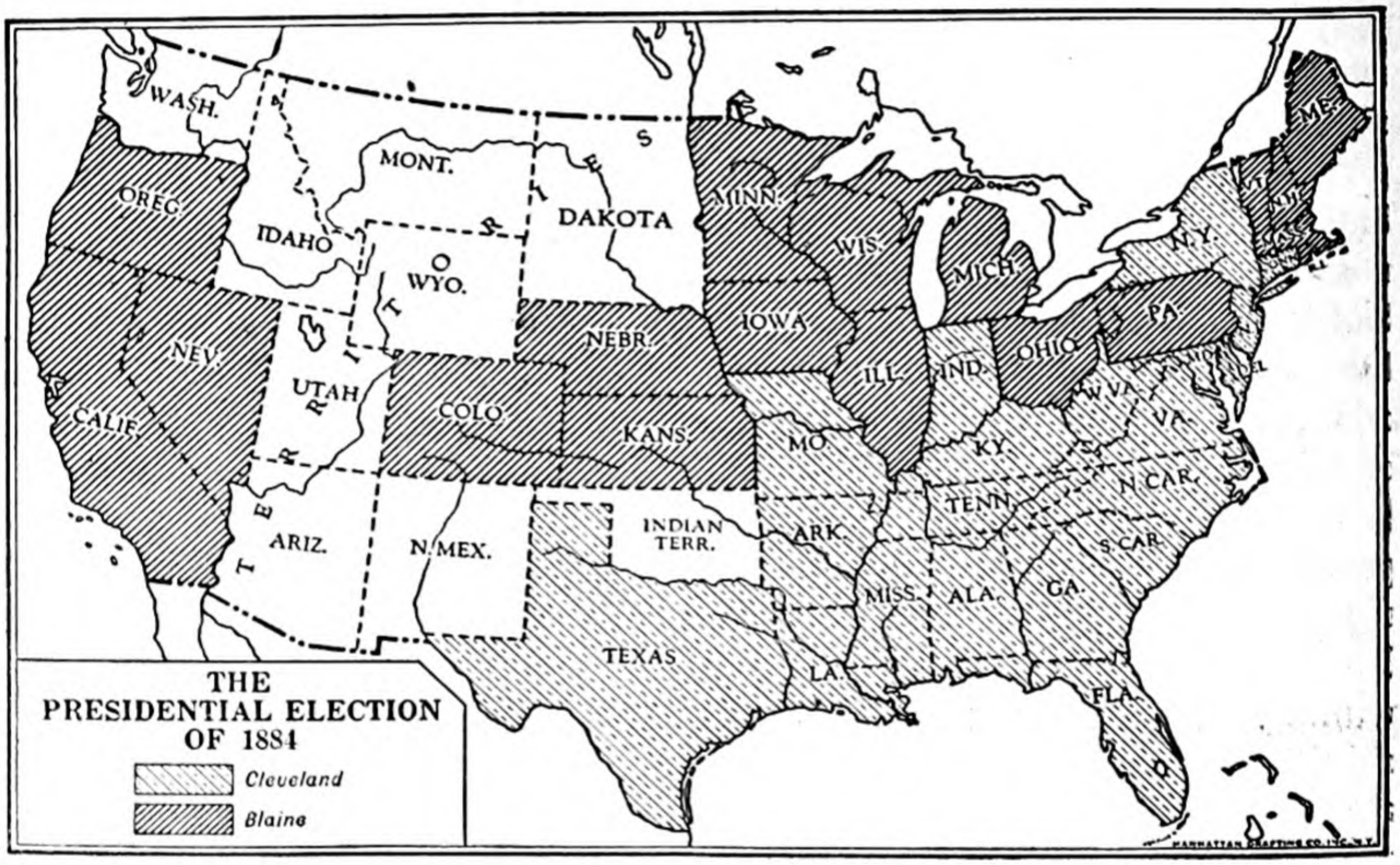

FIG. 9

A "MUD-SLINGING" CAMPAIGN. Early in the campaign, issues were discarded and personalities brought to the front in a way suggestive of cheap municipal politics. One competent observer called it "the vilest political campaign ever waged." Blaine's questionable railroad connections were revived to plague him (*IV, 4*). When Cleveland's public life revealed no points of attack, his opponents dug deep into the personal affairs of his remote past for any scandal that might weaken the reform candidate in the public mind. Nor did Blaine's private life escape the malicious tongue of the slanderers.

As the disgraceful campaign drew to a close, it appeared that the outcome might be decided by the vote of New York. When the votes were

counted, it was found that Cleveland had barely nosed out Blaine in the popular votes, although he received 219 to Blaine's 182 electoral votes (see map, fig. 9). Cleveland carried New York by 1149 votes, and with that state he won the nation. A change of less than 600 votes in New York would have elected Blaine.

For the first time in a quarter-century a Democrat was elected to the Presidency. This victory might be attributed to a general clamor for reform,' to a desire for tariff reduction, or to the strength in public morality of Cleveland over Blaine. But most likely it was the combined force of these factors, with credit for the political upheaval divided between the Mugwump revolt and the growing feeling that the Republican party had grown careless during its long tenure of office and that perhaps it was time to turn the Presidency over to the Democrats. One thing was certain: the country felt that the Union was as safe with the old party of secession as it was with the professional politicians.

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GROVER CLEVELAND AT 69

Cleveland (1837-1908), former sheriff, mayor of Buffalo, and governor of New York, at his home in Princeton, New Jersey. Free from presidential problems that vexed his second term, he felt "like a locomotive hitched to a boy's express wagon." Although a "fallen leader," the courageous President lived to see public acclaim return

3. Cleveland's Party Leadership and Policies. When Cleveland entered office, he believed first of all that governments should be honest and that "public office is a public trust." He thought that the executive, the only representative of all the people, should possess and use a leadership that might even go beyond mere party leadership. The first test of this new leadership naturally developed over the issue of spoils. Cleveland was able to extend the civil service despite the political "bread

line" of hungry Democratic office-seekers, but not without losing considerable party support.[1]

Again, he showed a commendable independence in his treatment of the pension question. Politics had allowed much wastefulness, if not corruption, to creep into pension awards to veterans of the War between the States. At the cost of much time and labor, the President investigated the cases represented in the private bills sent him by Congress, and when conditions proved the pension unwarranted, he used the veto. About 230 such bills were rejected by the President, as was a general pension bill. Such fearless action naturally aroused officials of the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of war veterans, and greatly encouraged the Republicans. The veto was also used freely on other bills, including the ever-blooming rivers and harbors bill. In his first term (1885-89) Cleveland vetoed 301 bills, as against 132 in all previous administrations.

A notable victory for executive independence was won when the President fought senatorial domination of the right of removal, and secured the repeal (in 1886) of the Tenure of Office Act which had been the stumbling block of Presidents since Johnson (*III, 6*). An equally courageous move for drastic tariff reform less than a year before the 1888 presidential election displayed Cleveland's lack of concern for his own political future.

Non-partisan Legislation. With his own party far from responsive and with a Republican Senate, no legislation was possible under Cleveland except that which stirred up no partisan feelings. It was during this period that the Presidential Succession Act and the Electoral Count Act (*III, 10, IV, 9*) were passed. But the most important law—the Interstate Commerce Act—had to do with the railroads.

Defeated on his tariff issue in 1888, Cleveland retired only to return to the Presidency four years later (1893-97), the "most popular man in the country"; but his second term was to treat him less kindly than the first. Hard times, serious labor troubles, baffling financial problems and disturbing foreign questions now confronted the President. These issues, combined with Cleveland's conservative tendencies and an obstinate desire to do what he considered right, lost him the support of his party but not the admiration of many of his countrymen. Few peace-time Presidents have been faced with problems as numerous and difficult to solve as Cleve-

[1] In his second term Cleveland added 37,000 offices to the classified list, resulting in a total for his administrations greater than that of any other President. When Cleveland failed to satisfy the Democratic spoilsmen, a Senator demanded more prompt and liberal action. "Ah," said the President, "I suppose you mean that I should appoint two horse-thieves a day instead of one." He also failed to please the extreme reformers whose criticism stirred him to righteous indignation when they blindly demanded that reform be pushed more rapidly than wisdom dictated.

land. No President has gone about the task more courageously or probably with more opposition.[1]

4. The Republicans Again, under Harrison. Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, grandson of the ninth President, held office from 1889 to 1893, thus bridging the gap between the administrations of Cleveland, who was defeated in the electoral vote of 1888 although receiving 100,000 more popular votes than Harrison. Harrison, an able and cultured lawyer, was charming on the public platform but as "cold as an iceberg" in personal relations. Although a strict party man, he was in no sense a leader, with the consequence that Congress again became dominant. In fact, Harrison's administration can largely be detailed in terms of the activities and policies of Blaine, Reed, McKinley, Platt and Quay, and the enthronement of an "extreme Republicanism."

Secretary of State Blaine carried on a spirited foreign policy and Thomas B. Reed of Maine, as Speaker of the House, ruled that body with an iron hand and witty sarcasm. William McKinley of Ohio, as House leader, pushed through a radically high tariff bill, while Senators Platt of New York and Quay of Pennsylvania kept the party sensitive to practical politics. The Congress that met in 1889 was Republican in both houses, so that for the first time in 14 years the executive and legislative branches were controlled by one party. In many respects this new Congress was remarkable.

"Czar" Reed and a "Billion-dollar" Congress. The rules of the House had made it easy for the minority to delay legislation by preventing a quorum through refusal to answer the roll call, by filibustering, or by refusing to vote. Speaker Reed decided to change this and in 1890 had the House adopt rules that empowered the Speaker to count all members as present in the House whether they answered the roll call or not.[2] No longer need the Speaker entertain motions for adjournment intended

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[1] Except for two of his eight years in office, Cleveland had a Republican Senate on his hands, and after 1895 both houses were Republican. "Your great difficulty will be to get on with Congress," said Cleveland to his second successor. "You will have to look out for those men at the other end of the avenue." Cleveland felt keenly the loss of leadership, and wondered whether a President ought to sacrifice party support in the hope of securing the support of those who "profess a patriotic desire for good government." Rhodes calls Cleveland's years in the Presidency "a priceless possession," and quotes Theodore Roosevelt, as President, referring to Cleveland's "high standard of official conduct and his rugged strength of character." Taft spoke of him as "a patriot with the highest sense of public duty, a statesman of clear perceptions, of the utmost courage of his convictions."

[2] When a Democrat, with parliamentary law book in hand, rose to protest against being counted present when not answering, Speaker Reed drawled, "The chair is making a statement of fact that the gentleman from Kentucky is present. Does he deny it?" Reed's new rules were much needed for the House, which Reed described as the "most unwieldy parliamentary body in the world," a House in which "three resolute men . . . could stop all public business."

to delay legislation; and still other rules were designed to speed up legislative procedure. Although the Democrats denounced such rules and the "tyranny of the Czar Reed," they nevertheless realized their general value and adopted them when they again controlled the House.

With a smoothly running Congress and an inherited surplus in the Treasury, the Republicans now turned to campaign promises made the veterans. On the theory that "a surplus is easier to handle than a deficit," Congress speedily undid Cleveland's conscientious pension policy and voted a general pension bill. Under Harrison the pensioners doubled, and pension appropriations rose from $89,000,000 annually to $157,000,000. This and other legislation, including an extravagant rivers and harbors bill and a public works program, sent appropriations for the Fifty-first Congress (1889-91) to a new high of $170,000,000 in excess of any previous Congress. When the Democrats criticized the Republicans for their "billion-dollar" Congress, Reed simply replied that the United States was a "billion-dollar country." When the Democrats controlled the next Congress, their appropriations proved to be even greater.

Included in the Republican expenditures were greatly increased appropriations for the new navy to which both parties were committed. Three important acts—the Sherman Silver Act, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the McKinley Tariff Act—were approved in 1890. The Anti-Trust Act was supported by both parties and the high rates of the Tariff Act promptly lost the House to the Republicans in a landslide in 1890, paving the way for Cleveland's return to office in 1893.

ORGANIZED DISCONTENT RISES IN THE WEST

5. Rise of Populism. After the collapse of the Granger movement (*IV*, *3*), the spirit of discontent had been kept alive by the Farmers' Alliance. Organized on a state basis, the Alliances differed in their method of attack. Some favored non-partisan coöperative schemes for marketing and buying products and others favored direct political action, but as the 'eighties wore on the tendency toward political activity increased. The greatest stumbling blocks to the eventual success of the Alliances lay in their inability to effect a successful national organization and in their indecision with respect to a united political front. Republicans wished to remain Republicans, and Democrats could not easily desert the Democratic party.

When the Alliance movement seemed about to flounder in the sea of internal troubles, a new movement under fighting leaders was organized. The old discontents, greatly increased by the high McKinley Tariff rates, stirred the Westerners. Western farmers were now fired to political

action and went forth to battle in the elections of 1890 in the name of the new People's party, with all the enthusiasm of a religious revival. Kansas and several other western states were seething with unrest and were eager to hear the spellbinders of the day. Especially did they enjoy Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease, witty stump speaker of Irish birth whose advice to Kansans, "to raise less corn and more *Hell*," has become historic. Mrs. Lease minced no words as she unleashed her talented tongue upon those whom she held responsible for conditions.

> Wall Street owns the country. It is no longer a government of the people, by the people, and for the people [charged Mrs. Lease], but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street and for Wall Street. The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master. The West and South are bound and prostrate before the manufacturing East. . . . The parties lie to us, and the political speakers mislead us. We were told two years ago to go to work and raise a big crop and that was all we needed. We went to work and plowed and planted; the rains fell, the sun shone, nature smiled, and we raised the big crop that they told us to; and what came of it? Eight cent corn, ten cent oats, two cent beef, and no price at all for butter and eggs—that's what came of it. . . . The main question is the money question. . . . We want money, land, and transportation. . . . The people are at bay, let the bloodhounds of money who have dogged us thus far beware!

To the music of "Good-bye, My Party, Good-bye," the aroused farmers cast their ballots, elected nine Representatives and two Senators, and pledged twice that number of Republican and Democratic Congressmen to their principles.

THE RADICAL POPULIST PLATFORM. Encouraged by this 1890 success, steps were taken to form a national party. In the spring of the next year a conference of various farm and labor groups met at Cincinnati and launched the People's or Populist party. Meeting in national convention at Omaha in July, 1892, some 1300 delegates nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa as their presidential candidate, and on July 4 adopted a thoroughly radical platform.

> We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin [ran the platform]. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislature, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized. . . . The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished; and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. . . . We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We

charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful condition to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. . . . They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon [wealth]. . . .

After this scorching accusation of the old parties, the platform declared for free and unlimited coinage of silver, graduated income tax and postal savings banks; for government operation of railroads, telephone and telegraph; for one-term Presidency, direct election of United States Senators, secret ballot, and the initiative and referendum. As we shall see, many of these demands have since been realized.

Acme

FARMERS IN REVOLT, 1933

As the Populists turned radical in the 'nineties, so the corn-belt farmers revolted against crushing economic conditions 40 years later. The photograph shows a farm being sold in Iowa by a sheriff protected by the militia against the resentment of the assembled farmers.

In the election of 1892 in which Harrison unsuccessfully opposed Cleveland, the Populists to the surprise of the country polled over a million votes, captured 22 electoral votes and increased their strength in Congress. For the first time since the War between the States a third party had broken into the electoral vote, for the Populists carried the four states of Colorado, Idaho, Kansas and Nevada. No third party had ever registered such a vote a year after its birth. What would happen in the next

election was uppermost in the politicians' minds. But before turning to 1896, we must find out why more than a million farmers voted for the radical Populist proposals in 1892.

6. The Causes of Discontent. Basically, the grievances of the Populists were economic and can pretty accurately be summarized under Mrs. Lease's battle cry, "We want money, land, and transportation." Indirectly, the bad situation was charged to politics, for, as we have just seen, the major parties seemed to be under the dominance of an eastern control that was cold to the dissatisfied West. A clear-cut East-West sectionalism had arisen to replace the old North-South sectionalism.

At the bottom of the trouble was agricultural overproduction with the resulting falling prices of farm produce, while the East seemed to be enjoying some degree of prosperity. While Mrs. Lease's "eight cent corn, ten cent oats, two cent beef" might not be representative prices, they represented undeniable trends. The "embattled farmer" could not see the democracy of a situation in which he got little or nothing for the product of his hard labor but had to pay high prices for the manufactured articles he bought.

Fighting a losing battle on prices, he found himself further impoverished by eight and ten per cent (and higher) interest rates on mortgages, staggering taxes, high tariffs, and unbearable monopolistic railroad rates on the eastward transportation of his crops. If unable to pay his mortgage or its interest to eastern-controlled banks, or the taxes on his property, he lost everything, as tens of thousands did. "There is a screw loose," he bitterly complained, in an industrial system that profits manufacturers, railroads and banks while agriculture suffers. The Populists had an especial hatred of the railroads. They stormed against them in their platform when they declared that "the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads."

As economic remedies the farmer demanded more money in circulation, plenty of free land, and honest and controlled transportation rates. Politically, we have seen, the farmer believed that much progress toward a fair solution of his problem could be made if he were given a greater share in his government: if he could elect his Senators, could confine the Presidency to one term, could have a secret ballot and could, through the initiative and referendum, have a greater control over legislation.

THE RADICALS CHALLENGE THE CONSERVATIVES IN 1896

7. Bryan—A New Leader. When suddenly the panic of 1893, with its resulting unemployment, labor battles and falling prices, broke over a

sorely tried land, the last straw was added to the economically weakened camel's back. The revolt of the Populists spread as the elections of 1894 registered a 42 per cent increase in their vote, largely at the expense of the Democrats. Cleveland fought courageously in a conservative way to save the country by advocating measures to conserve the gold reserve and revise the tariff downward. But when he stopped currency expansion by bringing about the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act in 1893, he completely lost the support of the West and added new zest to the "more money" clamor of the West and South.

All eyes now turned toward the presidential contest of 1896. The Populist uprising seemed to be spreading as the vast prairie land burst into a flame of radical politics with special emphasis upon the silver question. At the moment it seemed that only some unusual occurrence could prevent the new third party from destroying the old Democratic party of Jefferson and Jackson. The radicals lost no time as they hastened a full year before the 1896 election to get the Democratic party to promise that it would favor putting more silver money in circulation. When the Republicans met in national convention in June, 1896, the cold, businesslike preconvention work of Marcus A. Hanna had practically assured the presidential nomination to his friend, Major William McKinley. The chief business of the convention, therefore, was to draw up a plank on the money question. This plank, speedily adopted, declared against silver "except by international agreement," whereupon 34 "silver" Republicans withdrew from the convention.

When the Democratic convention assembled a few weeks later, a bitter struggle followed over the money problem. Conservatives were howled down as the radicals pushed through a plank demanding "unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." Ignoring long-established custom, the platform failed to commend the record of Cleveland, whom one speaker called the "tool of Wall Street." It declared, however, for an income tax, despite a Supreme Court decision against it in 1895. In the heated debate on the platform the last speech was made by William J. Bryan of Nebraska, the only speaker in the vast assemblage of 15,000 whose voice could control the frenzied gathering.

THE "CROSS OF GOLD" SPEECH. The 36-year-old silver-tongued lawyer who immediately captivated the convention, was practically unknown in the East. For four years (1890-94) he had been a Representative in Congress and in the next two years had turned his talents to winning converts to silver by his stirring speeches in the Middle West. The youthful Bryan now made a stirring appeal to the convention "in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity."

He turned to the gold delegates, who had complained of the disturbing effects of the "silverites" upon business, and proclaimed the farmer as much a business man as the eastern merchant or corporation lawyer. Then with a cry of defiance the spokesman of the West flung the challenge.

We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them! . . . You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

Challenging anew the gold delegates and the conservative interests, the "boy orator" concluded amid the wildest enthusiasm of the passionate outbursts of his hearers.

Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

Out of the West had come a new leader for Democracy. The next day the Democrats made Bryan their standard bearer. The gold Democrats refused to accept the outcome and put another man in the field as the candidate of the "National Democratic" party. This loss was offset, however, by the acceptance of Bryan by the Populist convention. Thus the Democratic party, by going radical, was not destroyed by the Populists but had indeed momentarily swallowed the Populists—money plank, voters and organization.

8. The Campaign of 1896. Although there were six tickets in the field, the campaign immediately became a bitter contest between Bryan and McKinley. McKinley would make the tariff the issue, but Bryan soon forced the money question upon him and the country. On the surface the battle became one of "sound money" in a campaign which was the most important since 1860.

At first the turn of events was embarrassing to McKinley because of his inconsistent record on the silver question. As Congressman he had favored and voted for silver, but in the campaign for the governorship of Ohio (1891) he was opposed to its unlimited coinage. Under the force of

circumstances McKinley in 1896 became an ardent advocate of the gold standard.

Intense interest was aroused in the debate as the man in the shop, field and market talked, not too intelligently to be sure, on the relative merits of gold and silver. Like Harrison, McKinley conducted a "front porch" campaign as visiting delegations poured into his home at Canton, Ohio, to pay their respects to this apostle of gold money. From Maine to California tons of Republican literature in a campaign of propaganda hailed McKinley as "the advance agent of prosperity." Bryan, the "Demopop," took to the stump and popularized a method of campaigning not since abandoned. Traveling 18,000 miles in two-thirds of the states, he accomplished the physical feat of making 600 speeches in 14 weeks to 5,000,000 people, according to the estimate of the time.

As the campaign drew to a close, the Republicans became alarmed as the Crusader rolled up converts to silver and as the contest took on the appearance of a warfare of the masses against the classes. They were worried when they saw the West and South lined up against the East, debtors against creditors, and believers in "cheap" money against believers in "sound" money. With practically all influential newspapers in opposition to him, Bryan was denounced as apt at "lies and forgeries and blasphemies," and a "demagogue whose patriotism is all in his jaw-bone." Even the Democratic Louisville *Courier-Journal* branded him a "dishonest dodger" and a "political faker." "Probably no man in civil life had succeeded in inspiring so much terror without taking life, as Bryan," declared the New York *Nation* at the close of the campaign.

The terror was that of intrenched wealth, of "big business" and of creditors, who feared that Bryan's "fifty-cent dollar" (the silver in a silver dollar was worth 52 cents in 1896) would undermine their property values. Thoroughly alarmed, big business took drastic steps when faced with contracts binding only if McKinley won. Many eastern factories and mills paid off their employees on the Saturday night before election with the warning that their establishments would be closed if Bryan were elected. Bryan, who practically conducted his campaign single-handed, labored under another serious handicap. His total campaign fund was $300,000, as against a Republican sum at least 11 times as great.

9. The Election and Its Significance. Big business breathed more freely when the votes were counted, for to its way of thinking a revolution had been averted. The result was decisively in favor of McKinley who received 271 to 176 electoral votes for Bryan (see map, fig. 10). In the popular vote the Republicans polled more than 7,000,000 as against 6,500,000 for the Democrat-Populists, though the defeated candidate had

more votes than any previously elected candidate or any Democrat was to receive for 20 years.

The first and obvious significance of the election was that the people, after much political discussion, had intrusted their government to the Republicans, for that party also won both houses of Congress. The country had gone conservative: it favored "sound money." Second, the nation had rejected not only the untried and radical Bryan but also the radicalism of the Democratic party and the continued domination of that party by Bryan. And the Democrats were to remain under the suspicion of the conservative East for some years to come. Third, the Populist party was dealt a death blow, but the farmers' movement and the tendency toward independent political action were not dead, nor were the Populists' principles buried. We shall meet many of them in the Progressive movement of 1912. Fourth and most important, the election must be considered a defeat for that group of plain Americans, who, beneath the surface issue of silver, were aiming their darts at the "lawlessness of corporate wealth."

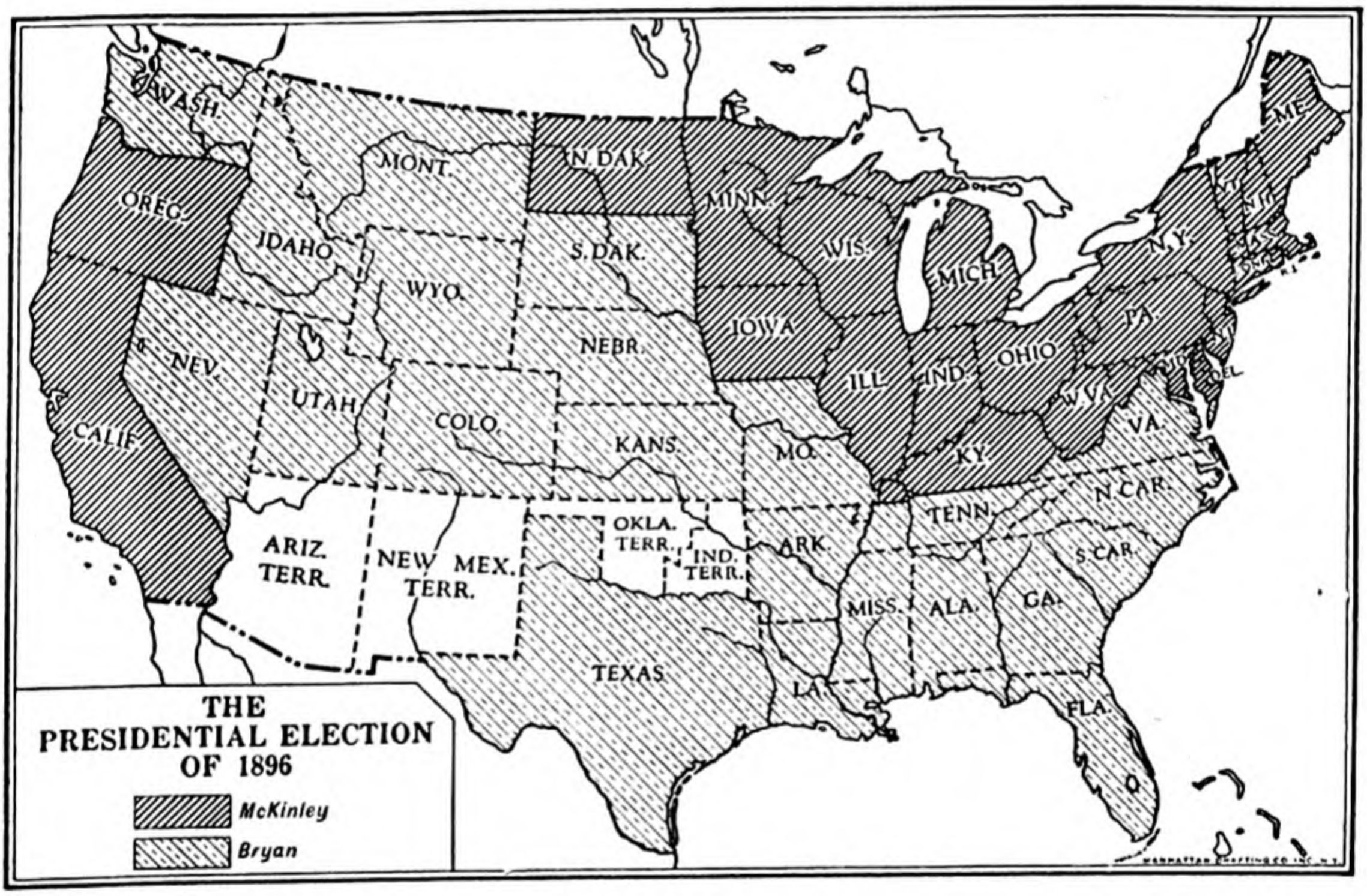

FIG. 10

Would the Republicans under McKinley reflect upon the grievances underlying 6,500,000 votes given to so questionable a candidate as Bryan? Would they attempt to make big business less autocratic if they could not make it the servant of the people? Or would big business, which had con-

tributed so heavily to McKinley's campaign fund, demand its reward: higher tariffs and its accustomed freedom from governmental interference? In other words, was this to be a government by the people or government by privilege?

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. The Speaker of the House of Representatives is: (a) its presiding officer; (b) usually the most influential member of the majority party in the House of Representatives; (c) the Vice President of the United States.
2. "Czar" Reed was so named because: (a) he was the head of New York's Tammany Hall organization; (b) as Speaker of the House he enforced many new rules to speed up legislation; (c) he was leader of the Democratic party in Congress.
3. President Benjamin Harrison is referred to as "a strict party man" because he: (a) let his Congress tell him what to do; (b) was the leader of the Republican party; (c) held closely to the platform and programs of his political party.
4. The expression "Wall Street" was used by people who believed that New York bankers and speculators: (a) controlled American business; (b) dominated the Republican party; (c) were trying to gain control of the government for their own ends.
5. The Granger movement was: (a) an attempt to unite the farmers for political purposes; (b) a forerunner of the Populist movement; (c) succeeded by the Farmers' Alliance.
6. By means of "initiative" and "referendum," voters: (a) have a more direct voice in law-making; (b) are able to present demands for legislation and may approve or reject measures proposed by the legislature; (c) are given less share in law-making.
7. Advocates of "cheap money": (a) are usually people who owe money; (b) frequently are farmers; (c) believe that they will be more prosperous when there is a lot of money in circulation regardless of its purchasing power.
8. Advocates of "sound money": (a) wanted a stabilized currency and banking system; (b) believed that inflation of the currency was undesirable; (c) believed in a monetary system based on the value of gold.

Do You Know The Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. During the 1880's there was: (a) little evidence of demand for reform; (b) demand for a lowered tariff and for punishment of corrupt public officials; (c) little public interest in political affairs.
2. The presidential election of 1884 was: (a) won by James G. Blaine, the Republican party candidate; (b) won by Grover Cleveland, the Democratic party candidate; (c) so closely contested that the outcome was determined by about 1000 votes in New York State.
3. President Grover Cleveland: (a) was a strict party man; (b) showed much independence of his party; (c) was the first Democratic President elected since before the War between the States.
4. The election of 1890 showed that: (a) there was great opposition to the high rates of the McKinley Tariff; (b) the farmers of the mid-West were growing in political force; (c) there was widespread discontent with the Republican administration.
5. The Populist party drew its membership largely from among: (a) farmers; (b) industrial workers; (c) eastern financiers and big business interests.
6. The leader of the Democratic party was: (a) Benjamin Harrison; (b) Thomas B. Reed; (c) William Jennings Bryan.
7. The Populists: (a) wanted free land, lowered railroad rates and "cheap" money; (b) gained ground in the election of 1894; (c) seized control of the Democratic party in the presidential campaign of 1896.
8. In the bitterly fought presidential campaign of 1896 the Democratic party: (a) for the most part backed William Jennings Bryan; (b) supported William McKinley; (c) lost out when the Republican candidate William McKinley was elected.
9. The outcome of the election of 1896 was significant because: (a) the party friendly to big business interest was left in power; (b) it indicated a distrust for the radical program advocated by the Populists; (c) the Democrats swept into power.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *If there is not sufficient evidence in the chapter to explain why the statement is an opinion, circle the letters* **NI.**

1. **T F O NI** The Republican party was the tool of big business interests.
2. **T F O NI** The nomination for President of James G. Blaine by the Republicans in 1884 caused a break in Republican ranks.
3. **T F O NI** Had Bryan been elected President in 1896 American industry would have been faced with disaster.
4. **T F O NI** Bryan stood for "sound money."

5. **T F O NI** Had Bryan's "free silver" program been carried out the currency would have been inflated.

6. **T F O NI** An inflated currency is an undesirable currency.

7. **T F O NI** Bryan was the outstanding champion of democracy of his time.

8. **T F O NI** The radical platform of the Democrats in 1896 under Populist leadership deserved defeat.

9. **T F O NI** The reform demands of the farm group received their death blow when McKinley and the Republicans won out in 1896.

10. **T F O NI** The election of 1896 indicated that millions of Americans were dissatisfied with Republican management of national affairs.

Summarizing Exercise

D. Below are a number of items. Underscore those that represent support of established conditions in the 1880's and 1890's. Circle those which represent demand for change in established practice.

1. Union Labor party; 2. James G. Blaine; 3. "Mugwumps"; 4. defeat of Cleveland by Benjamin Harrison in 1888; 5. Sherman Anti-Trust Act; 6. Farmers' Alliance; 7. Mary Elizabeth Lease; 8. Populist party platform; 9. election of William McKinley in 1896; 10. financial and big business interests of the North and East; 11. Marcus A. Hanna; 12. William Jennings Bryan; 13. "sound money"; 14. "free silver"; 15. government operation of public utilities.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

E. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Give an argument for and an argument against the silver coinage policy advocated by William Jennings Bryan.
2. Mention three reasons why the farmers and industrial workers united in the Populist movement of the 1890's. Discuss *one* of these three reasons from the viewpoint of a Populist.
3. President Grover Cleveland said that a "public office is a public trust." Explain what Cleveland meant by this statement and show, by reference to his terms as President, how Cleveland tried to carry out this belief.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chaps. x and xi, describe developments in our West during the latter 1800's; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps. xxxii-xxxvi, C. A. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, chaps. xx-xxii, H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of*

America, chap. xxxi and pp. 869-73, and H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xxiv, xxvi, xxvii, xxix, have good general treatments of this period. For fuller treatment try: S. J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*; H. J. Ford, *The Cleveland Era*; B. J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*; and S. P. Orth, *The Armies of Labor*.

Biographies:

Try A. Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage*; D. T. Lynch, *Grover Cleveland, a Man Four-Square*. For Bryan see M. R. Werner, *Bryan*.

Historical Novels:

Three excellent novels concerned with this period are: P. L. Ford, *The Honorable Peter Stirling*; G. Atherton, *Senator North*; and M. Dillon, *The Leader*.

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CHAPTER VI

Government by the People or Government by Privilege

"BIG BUSINESS" ASSUMES POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

1. **Business in Politics.** As the 1890's rounded out the century, the conduct of business by giant companies reached a climax that made "big business" highly important politically as well as industrially. "Masters of capital" and "captains of industry" ruled the money and industrial markets with an iron hand, and that was not all. They wanted greater power and security from possible rigid public control. Moreover, there still remained great wealth and power which could be obtained only through legislation granting to them privileges and concessions—city, state and national. They knew that if they could control politics they would be safe. This they thought they knew how to secure, and they marched boldly toward the goal—the control of political parties.

If at the close of the century $3,500,000 were to be spent by one party in one campaign, the funds must come from those able to give. And those best able to contribute were the powerful corporations. But why did they give so freely of their profits? Let a representative of the Sugar Trust answer under oath as he did in the 'nineties.

We have large interests in this State [New York]; [which need] police protection and fire protection. They need everything that the city furnishes and gives, and they have to support these things. Every individual and corporation and firm, trust, or whatever you call it, does these things, and we do them. . . . In the State of New York where the Democratic majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it [campaign contribution] their way. In the State of Massachusetts, where the Republican party is doubtful, they probably have the call. . . . Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls the local matters [meaning election of United States Senators and Representatives and state judges]. . . . We have contributed to local campaign parties, but never in the way of influencing legislation, and we never contribute with any obligation. . . . We have nothing to do with politics in any shape or manner. Our business is the refining of sugar at a slight profit that is consistent with a reasonable return on the industry.

2. McKinley, the Tariff and Big Business. American democracy was at the crossroads. Would McKinley take the road to government of the people, or the highway that represented control of public affairs by special interests? The answer, of course, must be found in the nature of the man and in his political deeds. McKinley belonged to the old school of politicians, but fortunately was a more worthy representative of that group than some. He was a modest, patient and tactful executive who got on well with Congress. In fact, under McKinley and Hanna (then in the Senate) the Republicans reached new heights of effective organization as a party.

On the other hand, McKinley was not a reformer. If he understood the significance of the economic rumblings that produced the radical movement of 1896, he displayed no special sympathy for the discontented. And we have seen that under him civil service reform suffered its first significant setback (*IV, 11*).

Three events mark McKinley's first administration: the tariff, the gold standard and the Spanish-American War. The new President apparently won his election by advocating the gold standard against the free coinage of both silver and gold. In spite of this fact, the legislation known as the Currency or Gold Standard Act was not enacted until 1900, owing to the strength of the silver group in the Senate.

The President interpreted his election to mean a demand for immediate upward revision of the tariff and accordingly called Congress into special session. In 1897 the Dingley Tariff Act, establishing a new high in tariff rates, was passed, and approved by McKinley. Through logrolling, Senators had set rates pleasing to representatives of big business in general.

Under the control of "business men in politics" the smoothly running McKinley administration was turning sharply toward the interests that had contributed to the campaign fund of 1896. The tendency was further marked by the President's failure to enforce the recent Sherman Anti-Trust Act against apparent violators, and his unreadiness to lend support to strengthening the regulation of railroads. The fact is that while President McKinley held office gigantic consolidations of industry, railroads and banks were being effected, and big business was enjoying a domination over the nation that seemed well-nigh unconquerable. "To many thoughtful men in the opening years of the twentieth century," comments one historian, "it seemed that America in making her fortune was in peril of losing her soul."

3. The Issue of Imperialism. McKinley was by nature peace-loving, and yet he found himself leading the nation into war in 1898. Unsettled conditions in Cuba had aroused certain American interests which had invested about $50,000,000 there and which were profiting from an an-

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nual commerce with the island of about $100,000,000. American sympathy with the native struggle for freedom from Spanish cruelty was an important factor in the eventual declaration of war. But the exact reason for the President's severing of relations is not known.

The brief war placed Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines (by purchase) under the American flag. It tied Cuba to our apron strings and dropped the issue of "imperialism" into the American political pond. McKinley believed that it was our duty to civilize the "Little Brown Brother," but Bryan was ready to call such business "imperialism," as was a small group of Republicans. Big business, on the other hand, encouraged empire extension because it meant new markets, greater industrial expansion and bigger business.

When the conventions met in 1900, the Republicans unanimously renominated the popular McKinley. The vice presidential nomination of Governor Theodore Roosevelt of New York was not, on the contrary, desired by the politicians. In spite of its leader's inactivity on the issue, the Republican platform condemned "all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business." It also declared for a protective tariff, and assumed responsibility for the imperialistic policy.

The Democrats renominated Bryan and declared against trusts and monopolies, called the Dingley Tariff a "trust-breeding" measure, and again stood for unlimited coinage of silver. But the "paramount [chief] issue of the campaign," declared the platform, was the "burning issue of imperialism." From the convention hall's high girders was unfurled an immense American flag which bore the words, "The Flag of the Republic forever, of an Empire never."

Again Bryan took to the stump and preached the evils of imperialism, to which a Filipino uprising seemed to give some point. An Anti-Imperialist League, led by some former Mugwumps, joined the attack against the administration's Philippine policy. But little enthusiasm could be aroused over either imperialism or the trust problem, as the reëlection of McKinley became a certainty. Returning prosperity helped even the downtrodden farmer to forget, temporarily at least, his old troubles. The Republican party got the credit for the rising prices and better times. McKinley won easily with a larger popular and electoral vote than in 1896.

When he was inaugurated the second time (March, 1901), his popularity was greater than that of any President since Jackson. Six months later (September 6) the kindly man was shot twice by an insane anarchist, as he held a reception at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. Eight days later the third President to die at an assassin's hand in 36 years lay dead. Hurriedly summoned from a vacation, Theodore Roosevelt became

He attends to Santo Domingo | He hands Mr. Castro a few | He jumps on the Senate

He writes on the race question | He lands on Standard Oil | He attends a banquet

He superintends the preparations for inauguration day | He passes a hot message to the Senate | He pauses a moment to make plans for a hunting trip

ONE OF MR. ROOSEVELT'S QUIET DAYS

This cartoon by McCutcheon in the Chicago *Tribune* illustrates Theodore Roosevelt's boundless energy as well as his love of the spectacular. In *The Strenuous Life* Roosevelt wrote in 1900: "I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph."

President, pledging himself to continue "absolutely unbroken" his predecessor's policy.

4. Roosevelt and Personal Government. But "Teddy" Roosevelt was not by nature, training or experience a man who could walk in the footsteps of another, certainly not in those of the conservative, easy-going McKinley. Whether or not he was the creator of a "new era," Roosevelt was without doubt an extraordinary personality who not only everlastingly stirred up things but accomplished much of a "progressive" nature.

The fighting, fearless, forcible young Roosevelt came to the presidency at the age of 42. He brought to the office a vigorous grasp of national affairs and a "reform" reputation that made professional politicians and special interests grievously uncertain about the future. That the privileged groups did not want the new leader was perhaps his best recommendation for the times.

From his graduation at Harvard in 1880 until he entered the White House as President, Roosevelt had led an active political life from which he stole enough time to write numerous books on history, biography, politics, and nature. After college he turned at once to politics against the advice of friends and served three terms in the legislature of his native state of New York. Then after several years in the "Cowboy Land" of Dakota, he served successively as Civil Service Commissioner under Harrison, as Police Commissioner in New York City, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under McKinley, as Colonel of the "Rough Riders" in Cuba in the Spanish-American War, as Governor of New York and finally as Vice President in McKinley's second administration. A decided bent toward independence and reform characterized the work of Roosevelt in these numerous executive offices.

When Roosevelt's activities as President are seen at a distance, at least two matters of importance stand out. First, he believed that an aggressive Chief Executive, fearless in exercising power, could do much to solve America's problems. In the second place, he was convinced that the gap between the masses and the classes was too wide, and that the government ought to do something to remove or at least lessen the causes for widespread discontent. In other words, the time had come to call a halt upon special privilege. He had strong convictions on these matters as his *Autobiography* attests, for he wrote concerning the President's powers:

> My belief was that it was not only his right but his duty to do anything that the needs of the Nation demanded unless such action was forbidden by the Constitution or by the laws. Under this interpretation of executive power I did and caused to be done many things not previously done by the President. . . . I did not usurp power, but I did greatly broaden the use of

executive power. . . . [This] was substantially the course followed by both Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln.

Roosevelt believed government should serve all, not the few.

I was bent upon making the Government the most efficient possible instrument in helping the people of the United States to better themselves in every way, politically, socially, and industrially. I believed with all my heart in real and thoroughgoing democracy, and I wished to make this democracy industrial as well as political. . . . I believed that the Constitution should be treated as the greatest document ever devised by the wit of man to aid a people in exercising every power necessary for its own betterment, and not as a straightjacket cunningly fashioned to strangle growth.

5. **Roosevelt and Civic Leadership.** If the President's policy could be summed up in one phrase, it would be the "square deal." By this he meant the fair thing to do, a sort of political, social and economic application of the Golden Rule. Big business was to be treated fairly if it was

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THE BULL MOOSE AROUSED

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) arriving in Chicago in August, 1912, to attend the Progressive convention where he was to make his "confession of faith" and begin his "battle for the Lord." As the platform was being shaped under his leadership, hardened politicians were said to weep as they fell under the influence of the crusading spirit.

"good". Labor was to have a fair chance, even the right to strike if no other method secured a square deal, but it must not be lawless. The rich and the poor, the black and the white, the Protestant, Catholic, and Jew—all were to stand equally before the government, none to be favored, and none to escape punishment for wrongdoing. If a class or a foreign country should attempt to overstep, then the "big stick" would be called into play and force used if necessary.

Roosevelt was hardly in the White House before he put his theories

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to work. As first citizen of the land, he settled a troublesome coal strike on a square-deal basis, to the discomfort of the owners of the mines. He directed his Attorney-General to prosecute "bad" trusts, and started a campaign of "trust-busting" that met with popular approval. He sought and secured additional regulation of railroads, and he saw a Department of Commerce and Labor established. Of course, he greatly boosted civil service reform (*IV, 9*), and aroused the country to the need of conservation of natural resources. He protected American life and further curbed greedy corporations by securing from Congress a Pure Food and Drug Act and a Meat Inspection Act.

In the name of the Monroe Doctrine he was instrumental in having several European powers arbitrate claims against Venezuela, and by an interpretation of the same doctrine he made Santo Domingo a protectorate. And, finally, in foreign affairs he secured the Panama Canal Zone and started one of the greatest engineering feats of modern times with the digging of the canal.

For such vigorous action he was criticized by practically all except the masses. Some accused him of exceeding his power, but the great hue and cry of the interests heretofore privileged was that Roosevelt was a Socialist and "wild-eyed revolutionist." Refusing to become panic-stricken by names mistakenly applied, the President continued his fight to give some forward-looking solution to pressing problems and at the same time liberalize the Republican party. Says Professor Morison of this new type of civic leadership: "Theodore Roosevelt, by preaching civic righteousness and practicing public virtue, did more to educate the American people in the principles of good government and unselfish service than all the text books on 'civics' ever written."

6. Taft—A Judicially Minded President. As the election of 1908 approached, Roosevelt cast aside possible renomination and practically selected the Republican nominee by supporting William H. Taft of Ohio, his Secretary of War, whom the Republican convention dutifully accepted. The Democrats, having been defeated with a conservative candidate (Parker) in 1904, turned to Bryan for a third and last time. The Republicans stood upon Roosevelt's record and promised tariff reform. The Democrats charged their opponents with being the party of "privileges and private monopoly" and promised reforms calculated further to safeguard public welfare from the wrongs of big business. "Shall the people rule?" was the real issue, according to the Democrats.

Taft defeated Bryan by 321 to 162 electoral votes, beating him by more than 1,200,000 popular votes. Taft came to the Presidency with a wide administrative and judicial background, and Roosevelt expressed the belief before the election that, with the exception of Washington and

Lincoln, "Taft as President will rank with any other man who has ever been in the White House." But events soon proved Roosevelt to be mistaken.

Able though he was, Taft was distinctly not of the Roosevelt type nor was he a reformer. But this is not to say that he was the reactionary he has sometimes been pictured. Taft had a judicial mind. He was slow and cautious and tended to weigh matters carefully before taking action, especially with respect to his power to act. Where Roosevelt was inclined to do those things not forbidden by the Constitution or the laws, Taft assumed power only when it was specifically granted by the Constitution or laws. Unless so granted, Taft held that a President cannot exercise a power because "it seems to him to be in the public interest."

Nevertheless, this smiling and good-natured President accomplished much which should have commanded public approval. Without the trumpet blasts of his talkative predecessor, he more than doubled the number of cases brought against the trusts. He added more offices to the classified civil service list than did Roosevelt (*IV*, *9*); and he also furthered conservation. He secured legislation granting additional regulation to the railroads, legislation establishing postal savings banks, a parcels-post system, publicity for campaign expenditures and a separate Department of Labor. Through his recommendations, moreover, two important Populist demands of 1892 were added to the Constitution. These were: Amendment XVI (ratified in 1913 under Taft) providing for an income tax [107], and Amendment XVII (ratified in 1913 under Wilson) establishing direct election of United States Senators [108-10].

7. **Insurgency in the Republican Ranks.** But there were several things that tended to discredit Taft. To begin with, he aroused a storm of protest by publicly defending the new Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act (1909) with its high rates, in the face of a public understanding that downward revision had been promised. About the same time there occurred a dispute between Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester, and his superior, Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior. Pinchot, staunch conservationist and personal friend of Roosevelt, charged the Secretary with playing into the hands of certain corporations by removing from the government reserves certain valuable water power sites which Roosevelt had withdrawn from sale. The final result of the matter was the removal of Pinchot by Taft, and although a congressional investigation freed Ballinger from blame, public opinion seemed to be with Pinchot.

The tariff and the public-reserves incident laid Taft open to the charge of being the victim if not the tool of powerful "interests." "Cannonism" also raised its head to plague Taft. Western representation in the House was dissatisfied with the high-handed rule of Speaker Joseph G. Cannon,

whose power over committee appointments and legislative procedure had reduced democracy through representation to something of a mockery. When Taft refused his aid to the reform of the situation, a combination of Democrats and western "insurgent" Republicans stripped Cannon of his power and reduced him to a presiding officer, but not without leaving deep scars on the G.O.P.[1]

These three incidents (tariff, public reserves, and autocratic rule in the House) aroused the progressive element of the country, and the prompt result was the reduction of the Republican Senate majority to an unsafe margin and the loss of the House to the Democrats in 1910. In a number of states Democratic governors were elected, including Woodrow Wilson in New Jersey. Taft's hands were now tied, and the waters of revolt were rising higher. To many of Roosevelt's supporters Taft was a keen disappointment.

THE PEOPLE RESPOND TO PROGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP

8. Roosevelt Leads the Progressive Revolt. Shortly before the 1910 elections Roosevelt returned to the country from a hunting trip in the jungles of Africa. While still outwardly friendly to Taft, it soon became evident that he was leaning strongly toward the insurgents, for in a famous speech on "The New Nationalism" late in the summer of 1910 he declared for a thoroughgoing progressive plan of political, economic and social reform.

Meanwhile, Republican insurgents under the leadership of Senator Robert M. ("Fighting Bob") La Follette, former progressive governor of Wisconsin, formed the National Progressive Republican League in January, 1911, to further "the promotion of popular government and progressive legislation." Although the League stood for much the same program for which Roosevelt had recently spoken, the ex-President refused to join it. Within a few months the League let it be known that La Follette was its choice of leader to contest the renomination of Taft in 1912.

But as the progressive movement rapidly spread, it became more and

[1] G.O.P., frequently seen in print today, refers to the Republicans as the Grand Old Party. The elephant as the symbol of the party was wished upon the Republicans by Cartoonist Thomas Nast during Grant's time. The Democratic symbol is the donkey which Nast first used about the same time. The fight on Cannonism revealed that the G.O.P. was breaking up into hostile groups: the "regulars" or the "old guard" (sometimes called "standpatters"), versus the insurgents or progressives or liberals who desired reform of existing institutions. Professor Woodburn has nicely distinguished between the different shades of political thought. "A *radical* has been defined," he says, "as one who goes too fast, a *conservative* as one who goes too slow, a *reactionary* as one who goes backward, a '*standpatter*' as one who does not go at all."

more evident that eastern Progressives felt that La Follette was too radical to defeat Taft. This conviction was strengthened by an unfortunate and indiscreet speech which the campaign-weary La Follette made early in 1912. Suddenly the variable political winds shifted and blew strongly in the direction of the old idol, Roosevelt. Within a few days after La Follette's speech, seven Republican governors urged Roosevelt (in a letter composed by Roosevelt himself) to announce his willingness to accept the Republican nomination. Though Roosevelt had asserted after his election in 1904 that he would "under no circumstances" be a candidate for another term, he now said that he would accept the nomination if it came through the Republican national convention.

The Progressives desired to make the Republican party more liberal from *within* by capturing the nomination. A bitter pre-convention campaign now followed between the old friends, Taft and Roosevelt, with La Follette growing constantly weaker. Roosevelt charged that Taft was under control of the reactionary "bosses." Taft declared that "nothing but death can keep me out of the fight now." But the results of the primary elections (then in use in a dozen states) were favorable to Roosevelt.

When the Republican convention gathered at Chicago (June 1912), it was immediately evident that the Taft organization controlled that assemblage. The Roosevelt delegates cried "fraud," as the "old guard" by "steam roller" methods proceeded to renominate Taft on the first ballot. Although the Roosevelt delegates whose election had been accepted remained in the convention, at Roosevelt's suggestion they did not vote.

9. **The Progressive Convention.** Claiming that the convention did not represent the "will of the rank and file of the [Republican] party," the Roosevelt supporters met in the same city in August and launched the Progressive party—another third party. The convention reminded observers of a religious revival rather than a political meeting. Repeatedly the delegates sang "Onward Christian Soldiers" and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and Roosevelt made his political "confession of faith."

After drawing up a forward-looking platform, Roosevelt was nominated unanimously by the Republican "bolters," which nomination strikingly enough was seconded by Miss Jane Addams, a Chicago social worker. Governor Hiram W. Johnson of California was made "Teddy's" running-mate, and the Progressives went forth with a religious zeal to "battle for the Lord." The Republican party, like the Democratic party in 1860, was split asunder. Failure at reform from within had brought about revolt.

In the meantime, the Democrats were holding long and stormy sessions in which their old hero, Bryan, managed affairs for the liberal element. Finally they nominated Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey on

the forty-sixth ballot for the Presidency, and Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana for the second place. For the fourth time the Socialists nominated their hero, Eugene V. Debs. Since all the platforms—even the Republican—emphasized reform, we shall want to examine them, keeping well in mind our chapter heading.

10. The Platforms of 1912. Republican, Democratic, Progressive and Socialist would be the order of ascending liberality if the platforms of 1912 were so compared. The Republicans, announcing an "unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people," declared for a tariff commission but stood pat on the protective tariff. The party favored such social and economic legislation as workmen's compensation laws, limitation of labor of women and children, and a federal trade commission, but denounced the recall of judicial decisions.

The Democrats called for the "immediate downward revision" of the tariff to a "revenue only" basis, charging the high Republican tariff to be the "principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth." In the economic field, they favored additional anti-trust and railroad legislation "to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States." They also stood for the income tax, and demanded revision of the banking laws to defeat the "money trust." Politically, they wanted direct election of Senators, a one-term Presidency established by constitutional amendment, and the presidential preferential primary so that the nomination of presidential candidates would be taken out of the hands of political machines and turned over to the people. Although they would guard judicial procedure against abuse, they denounced the Republicans for raising false issues.

The Progressives declared that "this country belongs to the people who inhabit it," and that parties exist "to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people." They charged that "both the old parties have turned aside" from these tasks to become the "tools of corrupt interests." While the Roosevelt men stood for a protective tariff, they demanded its downward revision. Among their political planks were: direct primaries and presidential preferential primaries, direct election of Senators, the short ballot, woman suffrage, and the initiative, referendum and recall.[1] They also demanded an easier method of constitutional amendment, and asked for such social and industrial legislation as prohibition of child labor, establishment of minimum wages, and a "living wage." In the economic field, they stood for income and inheritance taxes, and for a better control of banks, trusts and railroads. The most radical plank demanded the recall of judicial decisions by popular vote when the courts

[1] These issues, usually summarized as "direct government" or "the new democracy," will be discussed in the next chapter.

set aside state legislation designed to improve social and economic conditions. In addition each party stood for civil service reform, publicity for and limitation of campaign funds, and easier credit extensions to farmers.

Roosevelt had taken liberally from the old Populist platform (*V*, 5) and the later Bryan and Socialist platforms in order to fight government by privilege. But by 1912 the Socialist platform had taken a more advanced position in many of its planks. In addition to calling for government ownership of railroads, telephone, telegraph, express and steamboat companies and "all large-scale industries," it asked for city, state or federal ownership of agencies of distribution such as stockyards, grain elevators and storage warehouses. The Socialists demanded an increasing public ownership of land, gradual reduction of the tariff, five-and-one-half-day working week, prohibition of child labor, minimum wage scales, old-age pensions, and state unemployment insurance. They stood for woman suffrage, the initiative, referendum and recall, direct election of President and Vice President, and constitutional amendment by majority vote in a majority of the states. They also demanded the abolition of the Senate and the veto power of the President.

11. **The Democrats Profit from Republican Division.** Never before had the progressive voter had so many platforms to choose from, or so many "reform" candidates. Despite the enthusiasm that the conventions had aroused, the campaign was not exciting. In the few speeches he made during the campaign, Taft referred to the Progressive platform as a "crazy quilt" and predicted that the fear of "hard times" under the Democrats would be sufficient to defeat Wilson. Wilson made an extensive tour through the West preaching the "New Freedom." In these speeches he held out the promise of a safe, liberal leadership by frank declarations on the issues—prominent among them the tariff—in a polished and dignified delivery.

Roosevelt was, of course, the center of the campaign and remained its chief force as he stormed the country in defense of Progressive principles, until in October an insane man shot him at Milwaukee. Vigorous as a "Bull Moose," the symbol of his party, the wounded candidate dramatically delivered his scheduled speech and then was out of the campaign for a few weeks.

When the citizens cast their votes they favored Wilson, "a progressive with the brakes on," as the candidate occupying a middle position between Taft and Roosevelt. With the Republicans divided, the Democrats won. "The victory lay with progressivism," writes one historian, "yet not with the Progressives." Wilson carried 40 of the 48 states and 435 of the 531 electoral votes, but only 6,300,000 or 42 per cent of the 15,000,000 popular votes cast (see map, fig. 11). Roosevelt followed with 88 electoral

votes and more than 4,000,000 popular votes. Although Taft had almost 3,500,000 popular votes, he secured only 8 electoral votes (those of Vermont and Utah). The swing toward the Democrats was general, for they controlled the Presidency and both houses of Congress for the first time in 18 years, and elected three-fifths of the state governors. The vote-getting power of Roosevelt was proved anew as the new-born party rolled up the greatest vote of any third party to that date, surpassing even the 58-year-old Republican party.

12. Wilson and the "New Freedom." Woodrow Wilson, who has been called the "most intellectual" of our Presidents, stands out as a good

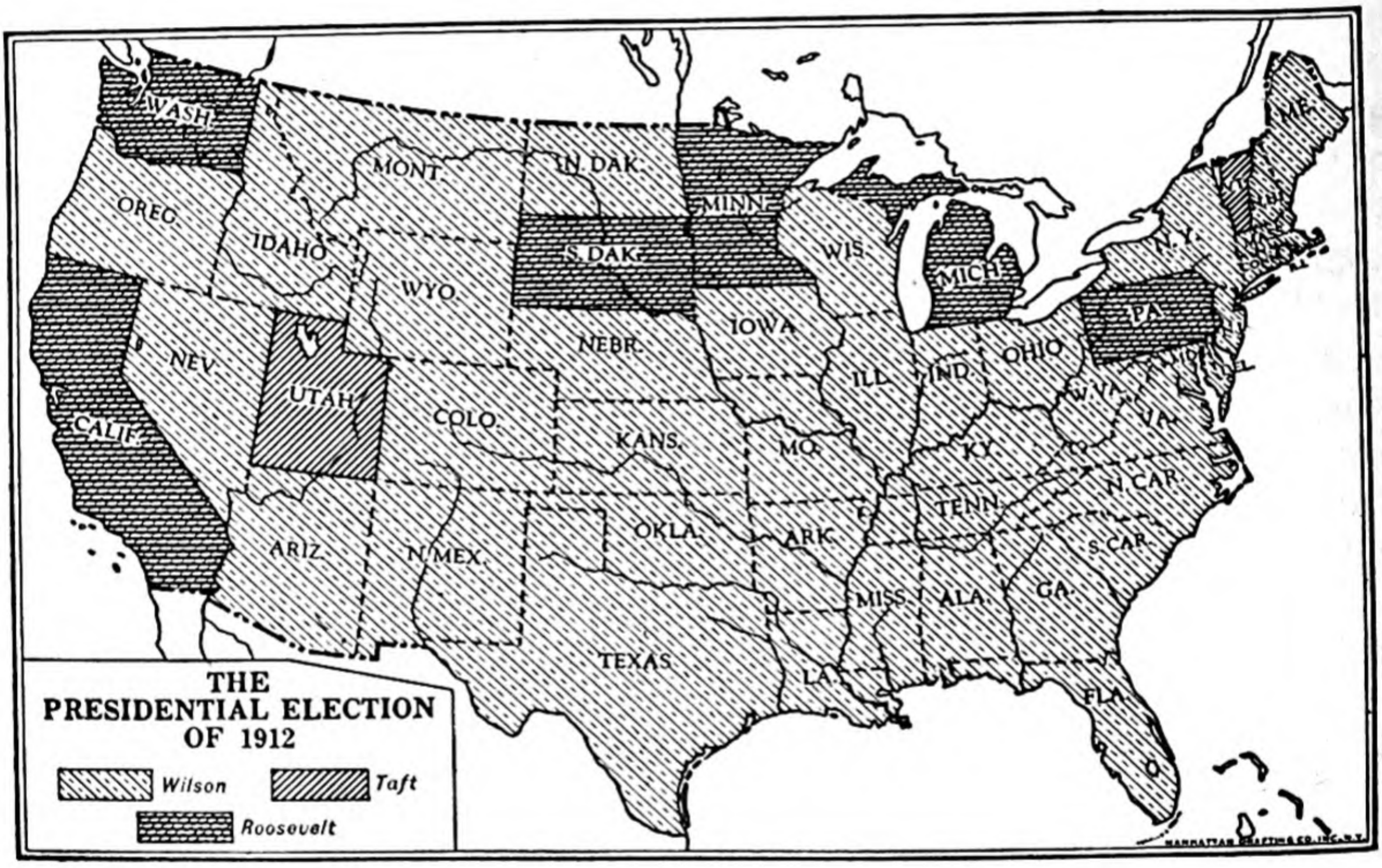

FIG. 11

example of a scholar in politics. Born of Scotch-Irish ancestors in Virginia a few years before the War between the States and trained in history, political science and law, he published, at the age of 29, *Congressional Government*, still an authoritative book on the subject. Disliking law, he turned to teaching and soon came to Princeton, his *Alma Mater*, afterwards becoming its president. At the age of 55 he held his first political office, the governorship of New Jersey (1911-13). Like Jefferson, he entered the Presidency a firm believer in democracy and the gifted spokesman for the people against privilege. Like Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland and Roosevelt, he believed that the President was the real leader of the nation and his party. He held, indeed, that the President should exer-

cise this leadership not merely as a strong executive but, like the British Prime Minister, should assume leadership over congressional legislation.

Wilson lacked the Rooseveltian touch that easily won popular approval but possessed something of the prophet's vision. He school-mastered it over Congress so effectually that the old Democratic party of state's rights suddenly became a party of a constructive and liberal nationalism. Shrinking from goodfellowship, Wilson became almost an intellectual hermit in the White House, and as his administrations wore on his self-confidence laid him open to the charge of being a strong-willed autocrat with a "one-track mind." But without presidential parallel except for Lincoln's simple words, his well-chosen phrases continued to express the aspirations of the common man here and, when the First World War came, in the world at large.

The key to Wilson's political faith is found in his campaign speeches which were summarized as the "New Freedom." He stood for freedom of government from the control of the "invisible empire" of "special interests"; freedom of business, big or small, from monopoly; freedom of the laborer and the public from a "great economic system which is heartless"; and freedom of legislation from lobby-controlled legislative committees.[1]

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THE PROFESSOR-PRESIDENT

Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), long-time professor of history and two-year governor, swinging through the West in the 1912 campaign, earnestly preaching the "New Freedom." The campaign settled down to a verbal duel between Roosevelt and Wilson, with Taft content to rest on his record.

13. Wilson's Record. In his Inaugural Address (March, 1913), the President referred to the material greatness of the country and to "our great system of government," but noted that:

The evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. . . . We have been proud of our

[1] A lobbyist represents some special interest seeking to influence legislation favorable to the interest or to discourage unfavorable legislation. Chambers of commerce, railroads, farmers' organizations, labor unions, and an infinite variety of interests all have lobbyists. Usually a high-salaried lawyer or ex-Congressman, the lobbyist uses his influence before committees or upon individual Congressmen. President Hoover once indignantly referred to them as "a locust swarm . . . who haunt the halls of Congress seeking selfish privilege for special groups." Lobbyists are sometimes called the "third house."

industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost. . . . The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people. . . . Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. . . . But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. . . . We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. . . . We shall restore, not destroy. . . . This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity.

To at least one historian this seemed like the voices of Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln calling the people to have faith once again in the American dream of democracy for the masses.

Immediately Wilson went heroically to the task, appearing in person before Congress to deliver his messages [66, note]. With a masterly control that surprised Congress and the country, the ex-school-master drove through Congress the most difficult of bills—a tariff revision. The resulting Underwood Tariff Act (1913) was the lowest tariff since the War between the States. This was followed at once by the forward-looking Federal Reserve Act (1913), aiming to improve both the currency and banking systems. The wrongdoings of monopoly were struck at in the Federal Trade Act (1914) and the Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914). If privilege was not dethroned, the hope was that at least the people had checked it. This important and far-reaching economic legislation was brought to completion in 18 months, an unusual peace-time record for statesmanship.

In foreign affairs Wilson's policy in the Caribbean was much like that of his predecessors, but in a Mexican crisis he followed a none too successful policy. Wilson had been in office a little more than a year when Europe become involved in the First World War. Largely, it is believed, because "He kept us out of war," the President was reëlected in 1916, but by a narrow margin (277 to 254 electoral votes) over Charles E. Hughes of New York, the candidate of the reunited Republican party now again supported by Roosevelt. The commendable support given civil service reform by Wilson we have noted elsewhere (*IV*, 9).

When in April, 1917, the peace-loving President assumed the burden of taking the nation into war, there was opened up to him an international stage. Immediately he began using it to preach a new internationalism of

peace which at the close of the war found expression in the League of Nations. But in the end the Republican Senate rejected Wilson's plan for an association of nations, and with the defeat of the League came the physical and political collapse of the War President.

When the fickle turn of fate's wheel made Wilson a discredited leader —a circumstance that time's judgment must ultimately pass upon—he accepted the result in silence, confident nevertheless that he was right. "I would rather lose in a cause that will some day win," he said, "than win in a cause that will some day lose." To many he was one of our five greatest Presidents (Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson); to many others, a mere idealist.

14. Socialism. In the Wilson-Roosevelt-Taft battle of 1912, another "third"-party candidate, Debs, polled over 900,000 votes. Debs was the leader of the Socialist party. Dissatisfied with the capitalist system of private ownership, this party entered the political field in 1900 with a program of public ownership looking toward certain changes in our economic, political and social ways of living (*IV, 3*). Socialist theories were founded upon the ideas of Karl Marx, a German scholar of the middle 1800's. Debs, their standard bearer in five campaigns, was converted to these ideas while serving a jail sentence for violation of a court order in a labor dispute.

The Socialists condemn the capitalist system for (1) its inefficient methods leading to economic and human waste, and (2) its unequal distribution of wealth resulting, they claim, in great wealth and luxury for a few and poverty and hardship for the many. The major aim of the Socialists is to substitute for the capitalist system a "collective [public or government] ownership and democratic management of the socially necessary means of production and distribution." In other words, as the platform of 1912 demanded (*10*), certain basic businesses, such as railroads, telephones, telegraphs, fuel and power and essential industries (big business), should be owned and operated by the government. Likewise the chief distributing agencies, the stockyards, grain elevators and storage warehouses should also be owned by the government. Such basic economic uprooting would, they assert, eliminate the dependence of the masses upon the owning few and bring an end to "wage slavery," for the government would conduct production of basic commodities for the *use* of society rather than for *profit*. By such control they further claim that the planless, unscientific overproduction and consequent unemployment resulting from capitalism would be eliminated.

Private capital, not private property, is the target of Socialism. Wages would remain the only form of income. Thus, contrary to popular opinion, Socialism does not mean that the total wealth of the country shall be

equally divided among the inhabitants, but rather that government ownership and operation of the major units in industry, finance and natural resources shall assure the profits of production to society through cheaper prices or reduced taxes. This in brief is the economic doctrine of the Socialists. We have seen what their political and social demands were in 1912 and that some of their earlier plans were taken over by the Progressives (*10*), thus illustrating that in history a radical position may in a generation or less be accepted by society at large.

For various reasons the Socialist vote has never passed the million mark and has actually dropped off, if the additions resulting from woman suffrage are considered. But stranger still is the fact that the Socialist appeal to the worker for peaceful political action has gathered a smaller percentage of supporters in the industrial East relative to the population than in the agricultural West and South. Then too it is undoubtedly true that some Socialist votes are in protest against the major parties.

The steadfast opposition of the American Federation of Labor to Socialists and Socialism is no doubt one reason for the small vote. The party's opposition to the First World War resulted in severe condemnation for Socialism and its leaders. This criticism was not diminished when the "left wing" or extreme Socialists left the party to form a Communist party (1919) and recognized the "revolutionary workers of Russia," the Soviets.[1] In 1936 internal dissension within the Socialist party resulted in a conservative-liberal split. With the conservative faction supporting Franklin D. Roosevelt, the party polled less than 200,000 votes.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

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[1] Socialism is sometimes loosely used to designate all radical movements. But as Norman Thomas, four-time Socialist presidential candidate, has pointed out, one can no more be a "Socialist-Bolshevist-Anarchist" than a "Methodist-Catholic-Unitarian." Perhaps a few brief definitions will help clarify these terms. *Communism* implies common ownership of property and goods (that is, absence of private property) as well as the ownership of means of production. *Anarchism* is opposed to all government and proposes voluntary association of individuals or accepts each individual as his own ruler. *Bolshevism*, a form of Communism, is the "dictatorship of the proletariat [workers]" over private property brought about by sudden and violent revolution, such as the Russian Revolution of 1917. *Sovietism* is the government established by the Bolshevist (or Communist) party, consisting of elective councils—local, provincial, and All-Russian—of workers and peasants, establishing the rule or dictatorship of the working class. The federation of Russian states and peoples is called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.). Radically different from Communism is *Fascism*, an anti-liberal movement, which has been called a "dictatorship of capitalism under the supreme authority of the state."

CHOICES		ITEMS
1. Opposed to all forms of government	a. ( )	Trusts
2. An individual or group that clings to tradition in spite of pressure for change	b. ( )	Insurgent
3. Theodore Roosevelt's demands for reform	c. ( )	"The New Freedom"
4. Refers to the high-handed rule of a House Speaker	d. ( )	Socialist
5. Great combinations of corporations	e. ( )	Lobbyist
6. One who breaks away from his party	f. ( )	Anarchist
7. Enables voters to indicate the person they want their party to nominate for President	g. ( )	Special interests
8. Direct or indirect control of one people or nation by another	h. ( )	"Old Guard"
9. Advocates government ownership and operation of essential industries	i. ( )	The "Square Deal"
10. Summarized Woodrow Wilson's political ideals	j. ( )	Cannonism
11. "High pressure salesman" retained to influence legislation	k. ( )	Presidential preferential primary
12. Any group that attempts to obtain special privileges from the government	l. ( )	Imperialism

Do You Know The Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. During the 1890's our economic life was marked by: (a) growth of large-scale business organizations; (b) consistent attempts by big business to dominate politics; (c) strict government control of business and industry.
2. During President McKinley's administration: (a) much reform legislation was passed by Congress; (b) the high Dingley Tariff Act was passed; (c) we fought a short war with Spain.
3. When President McKinley was assassinated he was succeeded in office by: (a) William Jennings Bryan; (b) Theodore Roosevelt; (c) Woodrow Wilson.
4. The administrations of Woodrow Wilson were marked by: (a) strengthening of anti-trust and banking regulations; (b) passage of the lowest tariff act since before the War between the States; (c) our participation in the First World War.
5. President Theodore Roosevelt: (a) believed the chief executive should

be guided by Congress; (b) extended the power of the President; (c) promoted conservation of natural resources and curbed the trusts.

6. During President Taft's term of office: (a) many of the reforms advocated by Theodore Roosevelt were extended; (b) reactionary forces prevented any reforms; (c) a high tariff was enacted which contributed to Taft's defeat in the election of 1912.
7. In the presidential campaign of 1912: (a) the Republican party was split into two factions, a conservative group led by Taft and a progressive group led by Theodore Roosevelt; (b) the platform of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive party was more liberal than that of the Democrats; (c) the voters favored the "middle-of-the-road" policy of Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats.
8. President Woodrow Wilson: (a) advocated a general association of nations; (b) was an isolationist; (c) was regarded by many as an impractical idealist.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *If there is not sufficient evidence in the chapter to explain why the statement is an opinion, circle the letters* **NI**.

1. **T F O NI** Many people regarded President Theodore Roosevelt as a "wild-eyed revolutionist."
2. **T F O NI** President Theodore Roosevelt ranks with Presidents Jefferson and Lincoln.
3. **T F O NI** The passage of the high Dingley Tariff Act in 1897 appears to have been influenced by big business interests.
4. **T F O NI** Big business was opposed to imperialism at the turn of the century.
5. **T F O NI** President McKinley was a strict party man.
6. **T F O NI** The Republican party was responsible for the return of prosperity in the latter 1890's.
7. **T F O NI** Theodore Roosevelt was responsible for the success of the Democratic party in the election of 1912.
8. **T F O NI** Many people thought that President Taft was the tool of special interests.
9. **T F O NI** President Taft proved to be a thorough-going reactionary.
10. **T F O NI** Third parties had little or no influence upon the outcome of the election of 1912.
11. **T F O NI** Some of the proposals of the Socialist party have been adopted by other parties.
12. **T F O NI** All Socialists believe in Communism.

Summarizing Exercise

D. Below are a number of statements. Underscore the six, which taken together, would constitute a summary of the main ideas brought out in this chapter.

1. At the turn of the century big business interests tended to dominate American political life.
2. As a result of the Spanish American War, the United States acquired Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines.
3. President William McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist.
4. President Theodore Roosevelt led a vigorous campaign against special interests and furthered many reforms.
5. Construction of the Panama Canal was begun while Theodore Roosevelt was President.
6. The reform movements begun by President Theodore Roosevelt were carried further by President Taft.
7. In 1912 a split between conservative Republicans led by Taft and liberal Republicans led by Theodore Roosevelt contributed to the election of Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic standard bearer.
8. Woodrow Wilson did not have the political experience that Theodore Roosevelt had when he became President.
9. President Wilson launched a vigorous campaign to check special interests.
10. Many people believe that Woodrow Wilson was one of our five greatest presidents while others classify him as an impractical idealist.
11. By about 1914 considerable progress had been made in checking control of the government by special interests.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

E. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Show how legislation advocated by each of the following American Presidents affected American life: (a) Theodore Roosevelt; (b) William Howard Taft; (c) Woodrow Wilson.
2. Compare the platforms of the Republicans, Democrats and Progressives in the presidential campaign of 1912. State for which party candidate you would have voted and give three reasons for your choice.
3. Show how the background and training of either Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson influenced his thinking and action as President. What reasons can you give to justify classification of either of these two Presidents among our five greatest Presidents.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chap. xii, J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps. xxxv, xl, xli, xlii, C. A. Beard, *The Rise of*

American Civilization, II, chap. xxvii, H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, chap. xxxiii, H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xxviii-xxix, xxxiii-xxxv, provide excellent background for an understanding of this period. Some specialized treatments are: B. J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*; H. Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times*; John Moody, *The Masters of Capital*; Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, II.

Biographies:

Theodore Roosevelt tells his story in his Autobiography. See also H. F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, a *Biography*; W. E. Dodd, *Woodrow Wilson and His Work*; W. A. White, *Woodrow Wilson*. G. Bradford, *The Quick and the Dead*, contain interesting accounts of some of the leaders of this period. Try L. Steffens, *Autobiography*, for a critical picture of the times.

Historical Novels:

Among the historical novels that touch upon big business and politics during these years are: G. Chester, *Get-Rich-Quick-Wallingford*; W. Churchill, *Mr. Crewe's Career*; J. Fairbanks, *Rich Man, Poor Man*; F. Norris, *The Octopus* and *The Pit*; R. Updegraff, *Captains in Conflict*; W. White, *A Certain Rich Man*.

CHAPTER VII

The New Democracy

THE PEOPLE STRIKE AT THE POLITICAL MACHINE

1. **"Invisible Government."** We have seen in the last chapter that progressivism under the leadership of Roosevelt, La Follette and Wilson left its mark upon national affairs. But to men of liberal tendencies progress toward a better political day seemed slow. To such conservative leaders as Taft, on the other hand, the onrush of progressivism was running counter in some respects to the spirit of representative government as founded on the Constitution. To still others, it was the old story all over again. Several gains in reform would be made in one quarter only to be lost a little later in the same quarter or elsewhere.

The march of democracy toward more responsible government and better control of the "special interests" under Roosevelt and Wilson could easily lead one to conclude that at last democracy had triumphed over its foes. But that would leave out of account other important factors. For one thing, the battle for political reform is not fought along the national front alone; it must be waged upon 48 state fronts and in hundreds of cities. As late as 1915 Elihu Root, an elder statesman of the Republican party, spoke of his native state of New York as follows:

> What is the government of this state? What has it been during the forty years of my acquaintance with it? The government of the constitution? Oh, no; not half the time, nor half way. . . . From the days of Fenton, and Conkling, and Arthur, and Cornell, and Platt, from the days of David B. Hill [Republican bosses except the Democrat, Hill], down to the present time, the government of the state has presented two different lines of activity, one of the constitutional and statutory officers of the state, and the other of the party leaders,—they call them party bosses. They call the system —I do not coin the phrase, I adopt it because it carries its own meaning— the system they call "invisible government."

After outlining Conkling's sway over state affairs, the speaker continued:

> Then Mr. Platt ruled the state; for nigh upon twenty years he ruled it. It was not the governor; it was not the legislature; it was not any elected

officers; it was Mr. Platt. And the capitol was not here [Albany]; it was at 49 Broadway; with Mr. Platt and his lieutenants. . . . The ruler of the state during the greater part of the forty years of my acquaintance with the state government has not been any man authorized by the constitution or by the law. . . . The party leader is elected by no one, accountable to no one, bound by no oath of office, removable by no one. . . . But it [invisible government] is all wrong; it is all wrong that a government not authorized by the people should be continued superior to the government that is authorized by the people.

2. **Public Indifference to Government.** What was charged against New York could have been applied to some other states simply by changing names. If America is committed to democracy, how is it that the people did not rule? To such a question there must be many answers. The control of big business over politics has been touched upon in previous chapters (*IV-VI*). Jobs and other government favors that are the oil of political machines must not be overlooked. A third factor is the voters' alarming lack of concern in the operation of their governments—national, state and local. To hundreds of thousands, government and politics mean an occasional tax bill (a necessary evil) and a few weeks' excitement every leap year when a President is to be elected. Now and then they also exhibit an amused indifference to political scandal and corruption as revealed in the public press.

Students of politics have observed that not even a presidential election stirs citizens as it once did, and it is probable that not one in a thousand voters ever reads a party platform. In the presidential elections between 1880 and 1896, an average of 80 per cent of the eligible voters cast their ballots for some candidate, but after that time a steady decline is noted. In 1920 and 1924 only one eligible voter in two exercised his right to vote for a presidential candidate. In 1928 and 1932 the controversial issues of the campaigns brought out about two-thirds of the men and women entitled to vote. When the New Deal was under fire in 1936, three out of every four eligible voters cast their ballots; and in 1940 four out of five.

One of the early devices designed to reduce the power of machine-controlled politics was the "Australian ballot system," or secret voting. Borrowed indirectly from Australia and adopted in 1888 by Massachusetts for state-wide use, the Australian ballot or a modified form is now used by every state but one. Listing the names of candidates of all parties for the various offices, it is printed at public expense and given to eligible voters only in the polling place. Taken to a booth and marked in secrecy, the folded ballot is then deposited in a ballot box in the presence of election officers. The voter thus has voted his will, and there can be no

check on his choices.[1] The principle of the Australian ballot has thus replaced the older and more public methods of voting, such as a show of hands, by voice, or the use of colored ballots prepared by parties, with one color designating a given party. Although the secret ballot made the delivery of "bought" votes an uncertain factor, it neither checked machine politics nor increased the desire to vote.

A fourth reason sometimes given for the half-hearted interest in government by the "man in the street" is lack of concern with politics so long as there are employment and a reasonable degree of prosperity. This lack of interest, of course, enabled the political boss to tighten his grip upon government.

A fifth general factor accounting for the decline in voting after 1896 may be attributed to a growing feeling that representative government was at best only an indirect means of government. Representative government had become so complicated, so easy of management by special powers and so remote from the voter's power that many citizens either lost interest or felt helpless to control the vast machine. In other words, it seemed as though the country was headed for government by the minority, for when only 50 per cent of the eligible voters cast their ballots for presidential candidates the successful candidate receives office by consent of little more than one-fourth of the citizens of legal voting age. From certain quarters came a demand for more democracy as the cure for this and the other political ills just mentioned.

3. **The Oregon System and More Democracy in the States.** If political machines are certain, there must be some devices which will place them more directly under the people's control, reasoned the progressives. Four devices—the direct primary, initiative, referendum, and recall—were found and put into practice in certain states in the early 1900's, thus striking a blow at the political machine.

THE DIRECT PRIMARY. To put an end to candidates picked by a political boss was the purpose of the direct primary. The old methods for selecting candidates, such as conventions and other party meetings, had given the voters no direct choice. Voting in regular elections amounted to little more than confirming a slate of hand-picked candidates. The selection or nomination of candidates was, after all, the most important step in the electoral process.

In 1903 Wisconsin under La Follette's leadership adopted the direct

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[1] It has been estimated that in 1928 approximately 3,000,000, or about 8 per cent, of the ballots cast for presidential electors were not counted because of faulty voting. This is considered by many a severe charge against democracy. In recent years a mechanical voting machine equipped with levers and an automatic vote counter has replaced the paper ballot in some states but preserved the secrecy of the Australian system.

primary on a state-wide scale, and in the next year Oregon followed suit. By 1915 more than two-thirds of the states had adopted it on a state-wide basis, and today it is used for some or all offices in every state but two. Under the direct primary system the voters *nominate* by ballot the candidates of their party.[1] Any party member, provided he secures the necessary signatures on his petition, could now aspire to a nomination.

In 1910 Oregon extended the direct primary to presidential nominations, when it provided for a presidential preferential primary. Under this form of direct primary, the voters do not nominate the presidential candidates directly, but they do elect delegates to the national conventions "pledged" or "instructed" to vote for a given candidate. In 1913 President Wilson recommended legislation to establish a nation-wide system of presidential preferential primaries, but such a law was not enacted. Today the presidential preferential primary is required by law in about one-fifth of the states, a smaller number than in 1916.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM. Direct control over the nomination and election of officials was no assurance that desired legislation and administration would necessarily result. The dominance of the machine and other influences might yet run the wheels of government. The old colonial faith in legislatures as the best protection of the people was fast disappearing, for legislatures had too often proved corrupt.

To make the legislatures subject to the will of the people, the West ushered into American politics the initiative and referendum, the former device an importation from Switzerland. The initiative placed in the voter's hand the power to initiate or propose and to pass upon legislation if the legislature refused to enact desired laws. Under the direct initiative any citizen may draw up a law, secure the necessary signatures (3 to 10 per cent of the legal voters) and have it placed before the voters for acceptance or rejection. If the *indirect* initiative prevails, the proposed legislation is submitted to the legislature and, if acted upon favorably, the need for submission to the voters is removed.

Sometimes it is more necessary to prevent or veto legislation than to initiate it. For such a purpose the referendum, an earlier American practice, was revived. Under the referendum, a petition signed by the required percentage of legal voters (usually 5 to 10 per cent) compels the submission of a law enacted by the legislature to the voters for acceptance or repeal. Depending upon the state, the I and R may apply to

[1] There are two kinds of direct primaries: the "closed" and "open." In the closed primary the voter must establish a party preference and receives only the ballot of that party. In the open primary, used in several western states, the voter receives the ballots of all parties, uses his choice, and deposits the "blanks" in a ballot box separate from that used for the marked ballots. In the open primary a Democrat could nominate Republican candidates if for any reason he so desired, and vice versa.

laws or constitutional amendments, or both; but neither the initiative nor referendum applies to national legislation or amendments.

These direct legislative twins struck boldly at representative government because it was found inadequate for efficient and honest government. Previously favored by the Populists, South Dakota in 1898 was the first state to adopt the I and R, but it remained for Oregon in 1902 to adopt "direct legislation" on a workable basis. State adoption of the I and R proceeded rapidly, so that within the next decade one-third of the states were committed to them in some form. After 1912 progress slowed up, with the result that today the I and R are in use in less than one-half of the states, only five of which—Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Maryland (referendum only) and Massachusetts—are east of the Mississippi.

The Recall. To extend the control over elective officials even more, the I and R were accompanied in some states by the recall. By securing a designated number of signatures to a petition (usually 25 per cent of the legal voters), citizens dissatisfied with an elective official may compel him to jump the hurdle of a special election at any time before the expiration of his term. If the challenged official musters a majority (or plurality) vote, he retains office; if not, he is "recalled" or removed. The recall was first adopted by Los Angeles in 1903, and thereafter spread rapidly among the cities. Its first state-wide application was by Oregon in 1908, but it has failed to receive the popular acceptance of initiative and referendum. Only about one-fourth of the states have adopted the recall, and all but two (Wisconsin and Michigan) are west of the Mississippi.

This drastic exercise of popular control met with determined opposition, while Roosevelt's flirtation with the recall of judicial decisions aroused conservatives everywhere. In at least four states the recall does not apply to judges. In practice, the recall is little used, and then almost exclusively for city officials. Because Oregon was in the van in the battle for "more democracy," the new devices have sometimes been called the "Oregon System."

4. Direct Government Challenged. It naturally followed that the steps taken to curb irresponsible representative government should meet with much opposition. The direct primary has been attacked because, it is charged, it doubles the expense of elections, tends to break down party loyalty and makes for "independence," and brings forth a different type of candidate. On the other hand, it has occasionally defeated the machine, and not infrequently it has caused the machine to present a better type of candidate. Recently a movement has gained headway to bring back a modified form of the convention or indirect system.

Of all the direct forms of government, the recall of officials has produced the severest criticism. Ex-President Taft referred to the initia-

tive as "an instrumentality in the hands of cranks to impose unnecessary political duties upon the whole body of the electorate," and branded the entire direct government idea as based upon "these 'hair trigger' popular verdicts." To Woodrow Wilson, on the other hand, the intention of initiative and referendum (I and R) "is to restore, not to destroy, representative government." They were to be thought of as a "gun behind the door" to be used in emergencies, when representative government ceased to be representative.

Whatever the eventual status of direct versus representative government is to be, direct control or greater democracy seems to have won the first skirmish, although it has failed to put the machine out of business. A very general charge was that the people, unequipped to pass upon legislation, would speedily enact radical measures. But with the aid of a pamphlet giving the pros and cons of the proposed measures, the voter has been "educated" to his duties, although frequently the pamphlets have been too legalistic and lengthy. In practice, the voter has tended toward conservatism rather than radicalism. The experience of 1910 in Oregon, where the I and R have been widely used, will illustrate. In that year an average of 72 per cent of those voting for governor passed upon 32 legislative proposals (three-fourths of which citizens had initiated), accepting nine and rejecting 23. A proposal to go into the railroad business was rejected, and for the fourth time woman suffrage was rejected. All in all, direct government has not resulted in the predictions of the conservatives or the hopes of the liberals. It has, however, reëmphasized the need for a short ballot, if popular choices and judgments are to be intelligent.[1]

5. Reforms in City Government, and Greater Popular Government. The corrupt control of political machines in many of the large cities in the early 1900's was worse, if possible, than in the states. The trail of corruption and inefficiency ran from coast to coast and seemed as prevalent in cities with a high percentage of native population as in centers of a large and recent immigration. These sores on the body politic aroused two groups primarily: the "muckrakers," who tried to stir up the public by printing shocking accounts of corruption under such titles as the "Shame of the Cities," and the reformers.

Among the reformers were "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo, Ohio,

[1] The size of the American ballot is the wonder of the democratic world. A ballot with 20 to 30 names is not uncommon. The 1912 Democratic primary ballot in New York was 14 feet long and listed 590 names. In England, with national, county and local elections held separately, and with few elective offices, the ballot usually presents an election issue of one office with very few candidates. Another effect of the short ballot is the centralization of responsibility through the use of appointive power. With fewer officials elected, executive officers must make more major appointments.

who attempted to apply Christian principles to city government, and "Tom" Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, who was called by one reformer the "best mayor of the best governed city in the United States." These and a few other reform officials in various cities fought desperately against the intrenched interests, and not without some success. The reformers demanded "home rule" (the right of cities to frame their own charters), greater popular control, government by experts, and simplified government. They helped to establish municipal research bureaus to apply a scientific technique to the business of government. The large and unwieldy two-house city councils were reduced in size, or one house was abolished. Elective officials were reduced in number, and the mayor was given greater appointive power, but his responsibility was more definitely fixed.

COMMISSION GOVERNMENT. But it remained for a catastrophe to create a complete substitute for the mayor-council type of city government. When in a single night in 1900 the city of Galveston, Texas, lost one-third of its property and a sixth of its population as the result of a tidal wave and storm, its old mayor-council government was unequal to the task of restoration. In the emergency citizens turned to a group of five business men who took over the reins of government. In 1901 the commission, as it was called, was made permanent in a new city charter. The success of the enforced experiment recommended the plan, and the commission form of government soon spread to Houston and other cities.

The plan as adopted by Des Moines, Iowa, in 1908 is a typical organization and has since been widely copied in over 300 cities now using commission government. In general, the commission plan provides: (1) usually five commissioners are nominated and elected by the people, with power over both legislative and executive functions; (2) each of four commissioners is responsible for an administrative department, such as public works; the fifth, the mayor-president, acts as ceremonial officer and harmonizing influence, but is merely first among equals; (3) public control over officials and legislation is maintained by provision for the initiative, referendum and recall (see fig. 12).

CITY-MANAGER GOVERNMENT. The commission form soon proved its efficiency over the older type of city government. Time, nevertheless, demonstrated several weaknesses. The number of responsible officers was reduced, but executive unity was lacking and the commissioners were likely to be business and professional men and not experts in government. To remedy these defects, the city-manager form of government was introduced in Staunton, Virginia (1908), and Sumter, South

Carolina (1912). But its first use in a city of more than 100,000 people was in Dayton, Ohio, in 1914, following a flood of the previous year.

The new plan was the commission form plus a government expert. Acting like a board of directors in a corporation, the commissioners

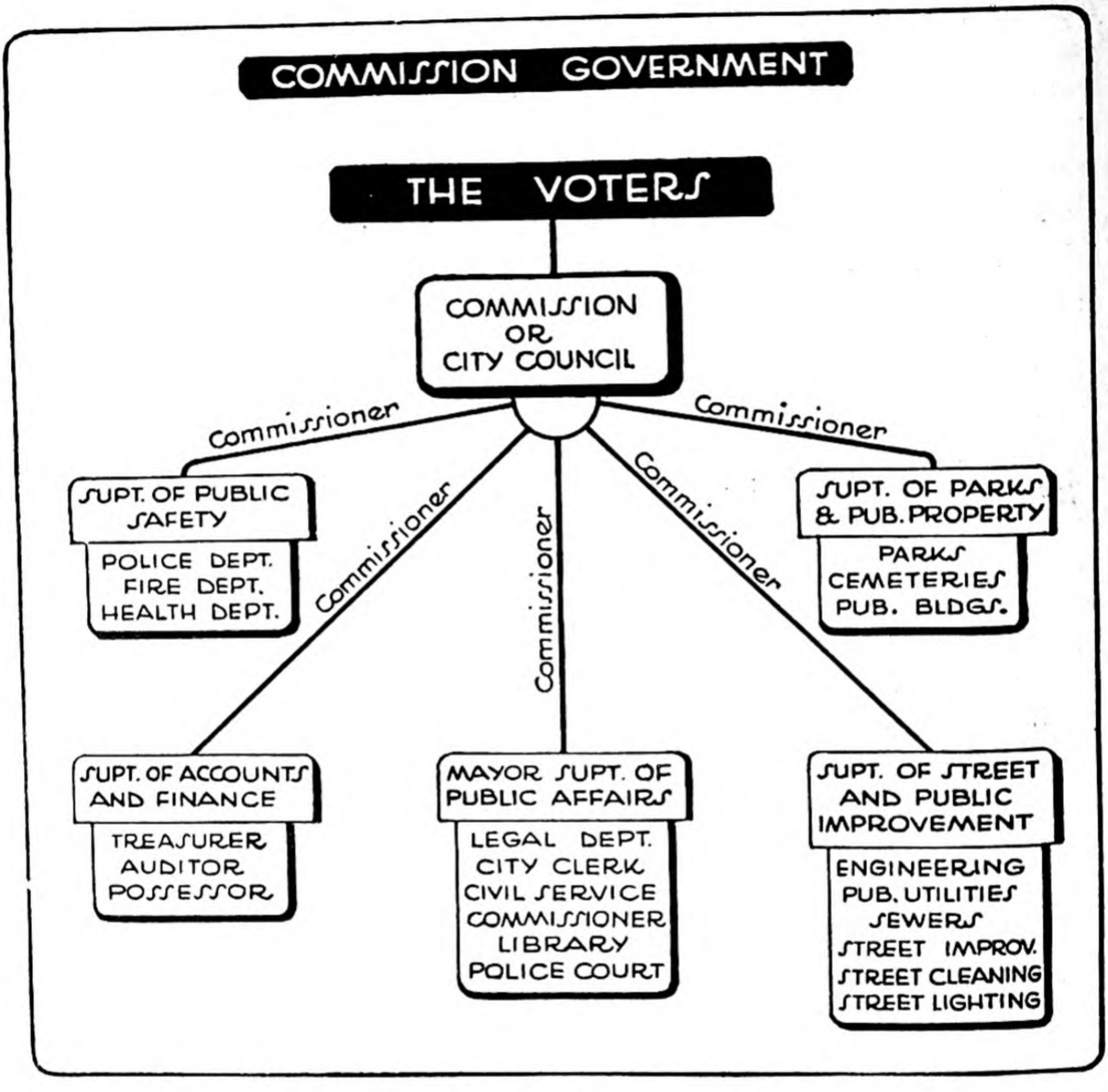

FIG. 12

would select a non-partisan expert who was to "manage" the city, and the commissioners, as representatives of the people, would continue to make the city's laws. In addition they would supervise the work of the manager, whose term of office was usually indefinite (see fig. 13). The city-manager plan, used in more than 500 cities and towns, definitely fixes responsibility, for if something goes wrong administratively the manager is responsible. This is possible, for within civil service regula-

tions he has power to select and dismiss his subordinates. The use of an expert city-manager has aided many cities in conquering political inefficiency and corruption.[1]

6. Constitutional Changes and More Direct Government. The tidal wave that brought greater democratic control to state and city gov-

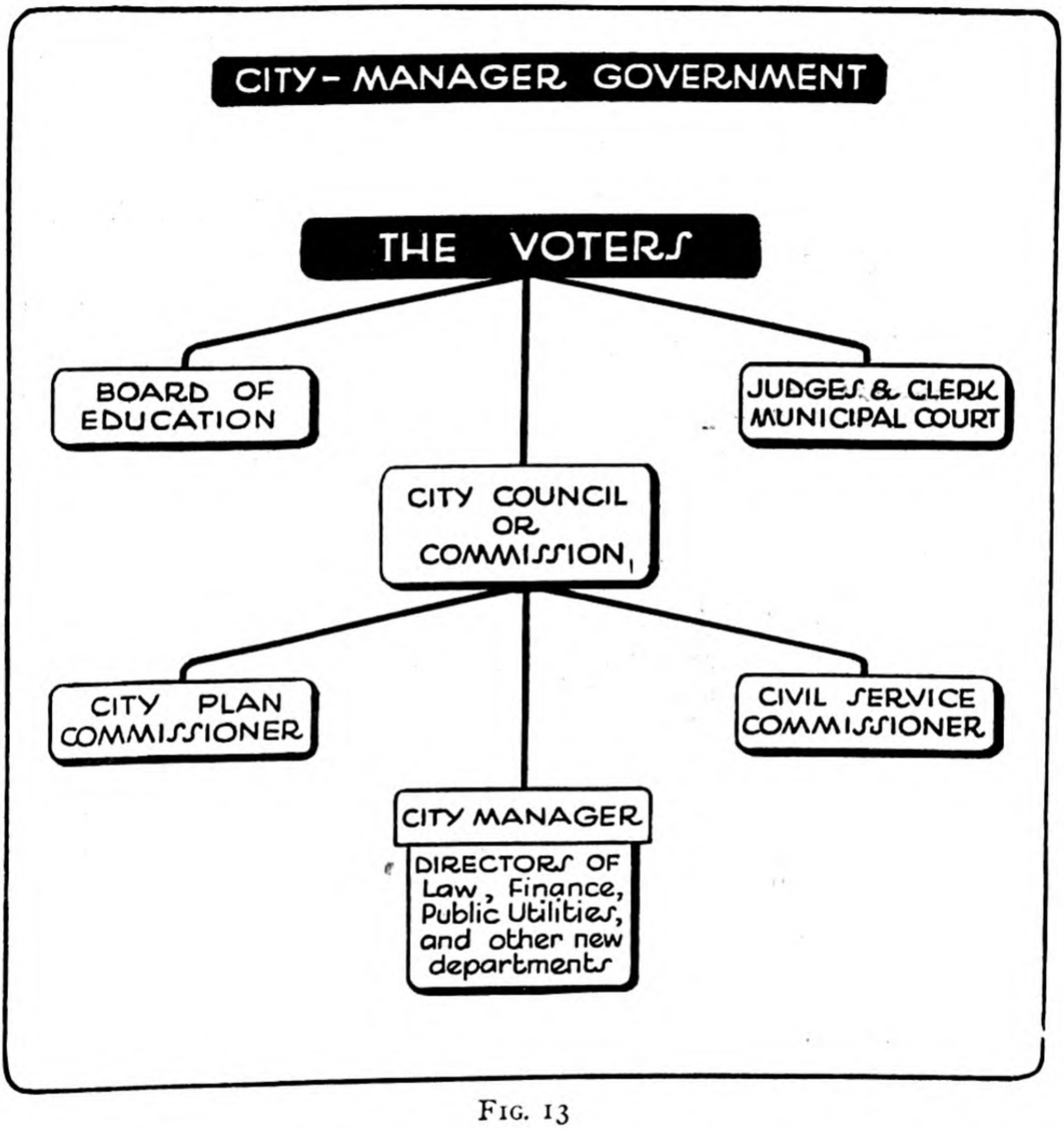

FIG. 13

ernments also left its mark upon the federal Constitution. Three times within seven years it washed away part of the handiwork of the Fathers

[1] In the past two decades there has been a definite trend toward city-manager government. By 1941 one in every five cities of over 10,000 population had this form. On the other hand, Cleveland, the largest city to try it, voted its repeal in 1931, after eight years of trial.

and fundamentally changed beliefs staunchly held a century and a quarter earlier. Two of these constitutional changes increased democracy on a national scale.

POPULAR ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS. Indirect election of Senators tended to make the Senate a conservative body, and frequently that body blocked legislation of the more democratic House. Election of Senators by corrupt state legislatures, frequently dominated by big business, led to the charge that corruption was finding its way into the Senate. In 1888 Lord Bryce wrote that "some, an increasing number, are senators because they are rich; a few are rich because they are senators."

Popular clamor mounted for direct control of senatorial elections. In the 'nineties the Populists took up the demand, and from 1900 on Democratic platforms advocated it. Meanwhile the western states began sniping from behind their democratic strongholds. Beginning about 1900, the states ignored the spirit of the Constitution by applying the direct primary idea to the nomination of Senators. If voters could have no direct hand in the election of Senators, they could and did pledge their legislators to a certain candidate, thereby not only nominating but virtually electing federal Senators. Under such procedure a Republican legislature in one state found itself, in obedience to popular will, electing a Democratic Senator.

Acme

A WOMAN SUFFRAGE PIONEER

Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906), a Massachusetts-born Quaker, who left teaching to become a militant reformer, crusaded for abolition, temperance, suffrage and equal rights for women. After the War between the States, Miss Anthony devoted her time almost exclusively to the cause of woman suffrage. This bust was modeled from life by Adelaide Johnson and presented to the Post Office Department, Washington.

By 1912 so many states were following the procedure that the Senate could no longer hold out against the attack. Accordingly, Amendment XVII passed both houses of Congress in 1912 and was speedily ratified by 1913. Henceforth, the qualifications for voting for a Senator were the same as those for a Representative, namely, "the qualifications requisite for electors [voters] of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures" [108, 3]. With the

popular election of Senators, another fortress of aristocracy had fallen before the onward march of democracy.

THE RISE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE. The idea that women should participate equally with men in political affairs seems to date from the middle of the 1800's. In 1848 a Woman's Rights Convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York, which drew up a "Declaration of Sentiments" in the style of the Declaration of Independence. "The history of mankind," reads a part of the introduction, "is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world." The Declaration listed a long series of grievances, and the convention took itself very seriously. While some newspapers took a far-sighted view of the gathering, a few editors snorted something about "The Reign of Petticoats."

However important the Woman's Rights Convention was as an initial step, it was not until after the War between the States that progress was made in the equal-rights movement. The year 1869 was a red-letter date, for in that year the territory of Wyoming granted suffrage to women, two woman suffrage associations were founded, and the "Susan B. Anthony amendment," providing for the political freedom of women, was proposed. Under the able leadership of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott and Lucy Stone, the movement advanced, but Congress remained cold to the proposal of woman suffrage.

THE TRIUMPH OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Undaunted, the suffragists continued their campaign and during the 'nineties tasted the first fruits of victory. In 1890 the two associations were combined into the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw membership rose rapidly to 200,000 in 1914. By 1896 there were four woman suffrage states—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. This number was increased to 11 by 1914 and all these states were west of the Mississippi. Woman's increasing share in the business and professional life of the nation was slowly breaking down the age-long idea that she belonged in the kitchen.

Continuing their fight in the states, the suffragists turned to Washington to bring pressure to bear upon Congress and the President. "Militant" suffragists, or "suffragettes," began to annoy officialdom in the fashion of their British cousins, a lobby was established and a backfire of propaganda was set up. By 1916 both the Republican and Democratic platforms favored equal suffrage by *state* action. Then came the First World War in which the invaluable work of women helped their cause immeasurably. By 1918, 15 states, including the populous and wealthy state of New

GIRLS CO

York, had responded to the call for simple justice by granting full suffrage rights (see map, fig. 14).

In 1918, with the First World War at its height, President Wilson appealed to Congress for federal action on the suffrage question, and in the next year Congress passed the Woman Suffrage Amendment which was ratified by the thirty-sixth state in the midst of the 1920 campaign. More than 20,000,000 women citizens were now on a plane of equality

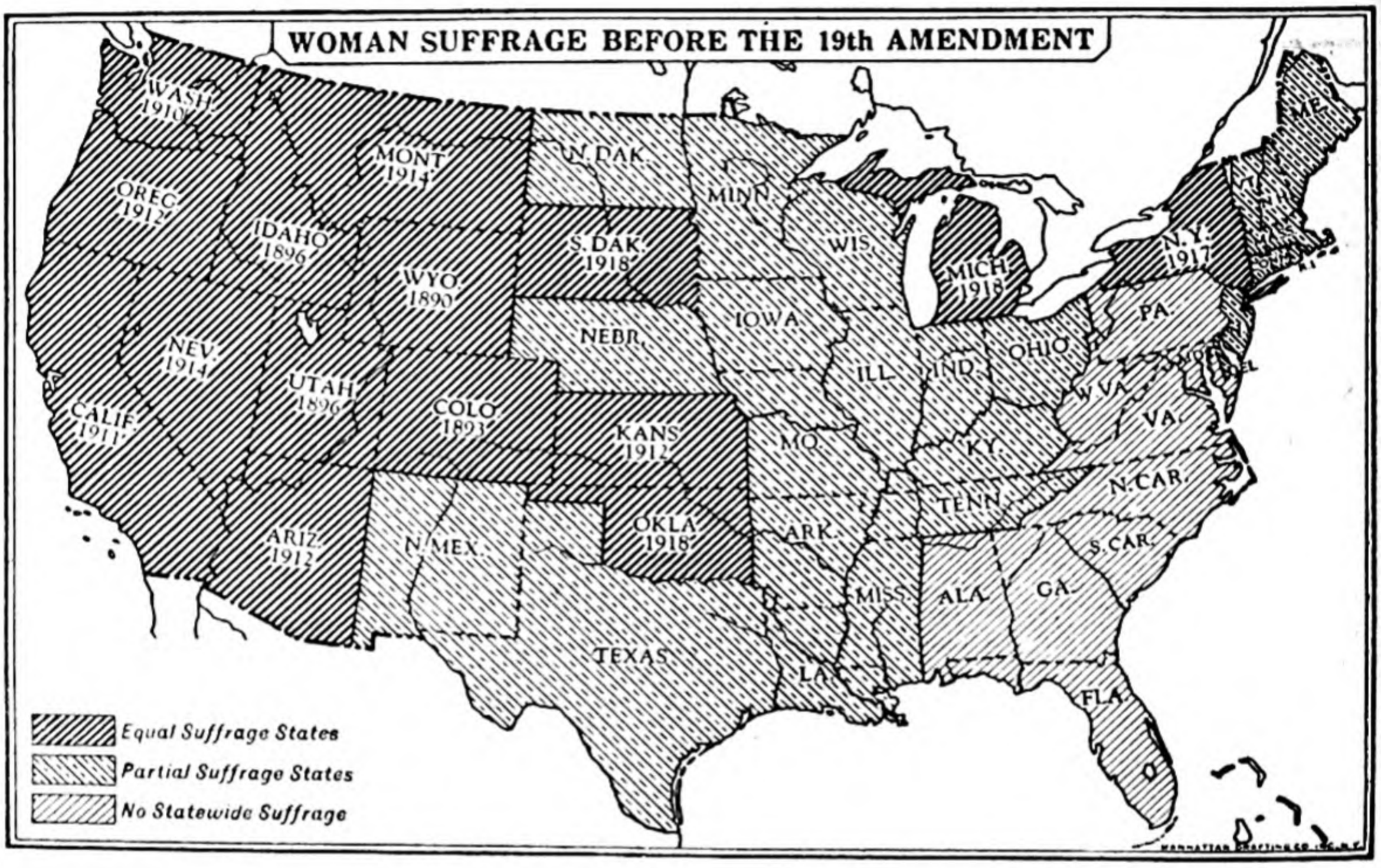

FIG. 14

with male citizens, for a citizen's right to vote if of legal voting age "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex" [114]. Fifty years after its proposal the Susan B. Anthony amendment became the law of the land as Amendment XIX.

7. **The Chief Issues in Past Elections.** Fundamentally, both in *tradition* and *theory* the present-day major parties stand apart. From the days of Hamilton and Jefferson the party streams, as we have several times emphasized, ran in different directions. Hamilton and his political followers through the years stood for strong centralization and a liberal reading of the Constitution, and leaned strongly toward commerce, finance and industry. Against these principles stood Jefferson and his party,

who favored state's rights and the strict construction of the Constitution, and had a kindly feeling for the farmer and the common man.

But it would be a mistake to assume that national campaigns in general have been fought out on a concrete issue bearing close relation to these basic principles. The fact is that less than one-fourth of the presidential campaigns have been waged on anything like a clear-cut issue. Back of the average presidential campaign lie general issues. In the earlier days these issues were the state's rights doctrine, the bank, tariff and internal improvements. Then came the big issue of slavery, to be followed by the problems of southern reconstruction.

After the War between the States the tariff came to the front again, as well as currency and occasionally foreign matters. One of the curious facts about American political history is that the voter has had only one or two opportunities to vote on the important question of the tariff apart from other issues. At the beginning of the present century the question of the relationship between government and business became the dominating but never clear-cut political issue.

8. New Issues Confront the Parties. In more recent times the issues of progressivism have arisen, as well as the baffling question of prohibition, the pressing agricultural problem of overproduction and low prices, and the troublesome issues that have grown ghostlike out of the First World War. A brief outline of presidential elections since 1920 will illustrate the trend of the new issues and at the same time tend to show that the two major parties are no longer widely separated *in practice*.

THE ELECTION OF 1920. In the 1920 campaign the Republican candidate, Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, decisively defeated ex-Governor James M. Cox, Democrat, of the same state by an electoral vote of 404 to 127 and by a popular plurality of 7,000,000. Although the Democrats tried to make American membership in the League of Nations the issue, the Republican candidate dropped the issue after stating that he stood for "a free association of nations" but not the League brought back from Paris by Wilson. This seemed to satisfy both pro- and anti-League Republicans, and the campaign settled down to the commonplace return of what Senator Harding called "normalcy"—anything that might spell relief from the abnormal conditions prevailing during the First World War.

Although the ill-fated Harding administration[1] soon had to its credit

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[1] Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts was the vice presidential candidate in 1920 and upon President Harding's invitation attended cabinet meetings. Prominent among the cabinet members were Charles E. Hughes (State), Andrew W. Mellon (Treasury) and Herbert C. Hoover (Commerce). Hughes was to become Chief Justice in 1930 and Hoover, the Chief Executive in 1929.

the Washington Conference on the limitation of naval armaments, its real trend was marked more dominantly by two other events. In the first place, the enactment of the high rates of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act (1922) recalled the days of McKinley and Marcus A. Hanna. Secondly, large-scale national scandal in the administration of the Veterans' Bureau, in the Department of Justice, and in the dishonest leasing of government oil reserve lands involving three cabinet Secretaries, reminded the historically minded of the corrupt Grant days.

With his term scarcely half completed, the harassed President died at San Francisco in August, 1923, as he was returning from an Alaskan trip. The silent, thrifty and conservative Calvin Coolidge, a staunch believer in Hamiltonian policies, succeeded to the Presidency and in due time separated the faithless officials from their offices. Under Coolidge, public attention was absorbed in the drive for economy, in reduced income taxes and in the return of prosperity. The new President, however, seemed to have in mind no scheme designed to aid the distressed farmer as the tariff had protected the industrial interests.

THE 1924 ELECTION. The road to "normalcy" had followed a route different from that traveled by Roosevelt and Wilson. Apparently normalcy meant, among other things, a return to the days of loosely controlled big business with its consequent big profits and fat incomes. With the farmers restless and the Progressives again smelling the smoke of battle, the Democrats were hopeful that a cry of "turn the rascals out" would drive the Republicans from power.

In 1924 the Republicans nominated Coolidge and to balance the ticket geographically selected General Charles G. Dawes of Illinois for second place. The Democrats in convention soon found themselves deadlocked on a candidate and badly divided on important platform utterances, including the League of Nations issue. After a record-breaking convention in point of time, the Democrats nominated on the 103rd ballot John W. Davis of West Virginia as presidential candidate, and Governor Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska, brother of William J. Bryan, as vice presidential candidate. Neither of the two leading aspirants for the nomination—William G. McAdoo and Alfred E. Smith—who battled long for the nomination could reach the necessary total under the then existing two-thirds rule. With platforms that were moderate and candidates that were conservative, the major parties seemed more than ever before cast in the same mold.

Dissatisfied with the outcome of the conventions, the Progressives met and nominated the Republican Senator, Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, as presidential candidate, and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana as his running-mate. The Progressive platform

denounced "ruthless individualism and competition," the power of monopoly, the reduction of income taxes, and labor injunctions. The Progressives demanded public ownership of water power and railroads, public control of natural resources, the levying of estate and inheritance taxes, reconstruction of the credit system, a government marketing corporation, election of federal judges, and revision of the Versailles Treaty of 1919. Although the Socialists accepted the Progressive platform and candidates, and although for the first time in its history the American Federation of Labor endorsed a candidate in the person of La Follette, the Progressive-Socialists carried only the state of Wisconsin.

Despite the fact that La Follette polled close to 5,000,000 votes (the largest third-party vote ever recorded) and despite the able campaigning of Davis, Coolidge was easily elected. He secured a majority of the popular votes, and 382 electoral votes to 136 for Davis and 13 for La Follette. The voters did not hold Coolidge responsible for Republican corruption, and they did believe that the march toward normalcy and prosperity would be most safely led by the shrewd Yankee of Vermont birth.

THE LANDSLIDE OF 1928. Although America under Coolidge reached dizzy heights of prosperity, all was not well. The farmer was dissatisfied and the veteran was annoyed by the presidential cold shoulder toward the bonus. Prohibition enforcement was being questioned and Congress was showing a most persistent hostility to the policies of the quiet and untroubled man in the White House.

When President Coolidge did "not choose to run" in 1928, the mantle of "Coolidge prosperity" fell upon the willing shoulders of Herbert C. Hoover of California, Coolidge's able Secretary of Commerce, as the Republican nominee. The President did not aid his Secretary in securing the nomination, nor did he raise his voice in Hoover's behalf but once in the campaign. Famed as a mining engineer operating in every quarter of the globe, Hoover was widely heralded as a great humanitarian in European relief work during the First World War. More recently engaged in reorganizing the Department of Commerce, he was a strong candidate, though completely lacking in legislative experience. Against him the Democrats pitted four-time Governor Alfred E. Smith of the "Sidewalks of New York," a "wet," a Catholic, and a Tammany Hall man.

Upon the major issues of prohibition and farm relief both parties were divided, and on the tariff the differences between them were not great. Rejecting the platform declaration on prohibition, Governor Smith declared for the return of the liquor question to the states, rapped the Republicans on corruption, charged them with inactivity on farm relief, and warned against the growing monopoly of the power interests. Con-

fining himself to a few public appearances before the microphone, Secretary Hoover took no definite stand on issues or legislative policies, and made the burden of his campaign a promise to continue the Coolidge prosperity by leaning heavily on the protective tariff. In his acceptance speech he referred to the triumph of prosperity over poverty.

We in America today [he said] are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land. The poorhouse is vanishing from among us. We have not yet reached the goal, but, given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, we shall soon with the help of God be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation.

"The slogan of progress," the candidate told New Yorkers, "is changing from the full dinner pail [of McKinley's day (*V, 8*)] to the full garage." When the ballots were in, Smith with 15,000,000 popular votes carried only eight states. He lost four states of the "Solid South" (Florida, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia), but captured the Republican states of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Hoover carried 40 states with a popular vote of approximately 21,500,000, receiving 444 electoral votes to 87 for Smith (see map, fig. 15). No candidate had ever before received so large a vote, either popular or electoral. The Socialist candidate received less than 300,000 votes. The Democrats explained the break-up of the Solid South (*III, 12*) and their defeat on the grounds of racial and religious prejudice and the loss of the "dry" Democratic vote.

9. Lack of Party Differences. The election issues of 1920, 1924 and 1928, together with platform declarations, indicated that the old-time differences between the major parties were less pronounced than at earlier periods. The issues of prohibition, farm relief and the tariff indicated either a difference *within* the party or striking similarities *between* the parties. On economic issues, such as the tariff, the Democrats were drawing closer to the Republican principle of protection, as industry spread to the West and South. On some of the issues growing out of the War, war debts in particular, the parties took identical positions. A quarter-century ago Lord Bryce wrote of the two parties:

Neither party has any clean-cut principles, any distinctive tenets [beliefs]. Both have traditions. Both claim to have tendencies. Both have certainly war cries, organizations, interests, enlisted in their support. But those interests are in the main the interests of getting or keeping the patronage of the government. Distinctive tenets and policies, points of political doctrine and points of political practice, have all but vanished. . . . The American parties now continue to exist, because they have existed. The mill has been constructed, and its machinery goes on turning, even when there is no grist to

grind. . . . An eminent journalist remarked to me in 1908 that the two great parties were like two bottles. Each bore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each was empty.

Of course, Lord Bryce did not mean that there were no differences whatever between the Republican and Democratic parties, but that in general the two were more alike than different. The passage of time has removed most of the old basic differences, and as yet new issues have not been adopted which clearly array the two parties against each other.

Another factor of great importance is the existence in each party of both conservatives and liberals. There is probably less difference between a Republican and a Democratic conservative than between a Republican (or Democratic) conservative and a liberal. Each party tends to be under control of the conservative element, but the Democratic party probably less so. That progressives in either party despair of liberalizing the old parties is illustrated by the formation of the Progressive party in 1924 and the more recent attempts to form a third party from the liberal elements of the two major parties. Habits of party membership, and the cost, labor and time required to form an independent political organization have thus far defeated all efforts to form a permanent liberal or progressive party.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

CHOICES		ITEMS
1. The beliefs and attitudes of liberals	a. ( )	"Normalcy"
2. Fought for women's right to vote	b. ( )	Direct primary
3. Established the principle of secret voting	c. ( )	Recall
4. Provided for direct election of United States Senators	d. ( )	Progressivism
5. Control of our political affairs by party machines	e. ( )	Muckrakers
6. A system enabling voters to bring public officials to trial	f. ( )	Suffragettes
7. A return to the political and economic conditions that preceded the First World War	g. ( )	Amendment XIX
8. Superseded the straight commission form of government	h. ( )	Australian ballot

GIRLS COLLEGE
SRINAGAR

CHOICES		ITEMS
9. Summarizes various techniques for giving voters more direct voice in politics	i. ( )	City-Manager
10. Intended to turn nomination of candidates for office over to the voters	j. ( )	Amendment XVII
11. Provided for the right of women to vote	k. ( )	Invisible government
12. Writers who exposed corrupt practices	l. ( )	"Oregon System"

Do You Know The Facts?

B. In each of the following incomplete sentences write the appropriate item or items in the blank space or spaces.

1. An outstanding progressive who was a presidential candidate in 1924 and whose sons are in politics today was Senator of Wisconsin.
2. In an effort to give the voter a voice in selecting presidential candidates, the primary is required by law in about ten states.
3. The voter is enabled to propose legislation in some of our states by means of the .
4. Voters may pass judgment on acts of the legislatures in some states by means of the .
5. Of these three forms of direct government: initiative; referendum; and recall, the one which has been most criticized is .
6. In general, voters tend to be rather than liberal.
7. The pioneer in the struggle to obtain equal political rights for women was a former school teacher named .
8. The woman suffrage movement first gained recognition in some of the states of the .
9. The Woman Suffrage Amendment was ratified shortly after the War.
10. Corruption among high federal officials in the earlier 1920's occurred during the term of office of President .
11. In the presidential campaign of 1928 four states of the Solid South broke tradition and voted for the candidate.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *If there is not sufficient informa-*

tion in the chapter to explain why the statement is an opinion, circle the letters **NI.**

1. **T F O NI** Progress toward a "better political day" is slow.
2. **T F O NI** There has been considerable public indifference to political matters.
3. **T F O NI** Since 1930 there has been a marked decline in the percentage of voters who vote in presidential elections.
4. **T F O NI** Unemployment and depression stir up popular interest in government.
5. **T F O NI** In general, the West has been more active than the East in the extension of political democracy.
6. **T F O NI** The practice of initiative promotes snap-judgments by the voter and therefore should be discouraged.
7. **T F O NI** Direct government actually restores the true function of representative government.
8. **T F O NI** In the past twenty years the city-manager form of government has about disappeared.
9. **T F O NI** In general, the woman voter has brought about a great change for the better in our political life.
10. **T F O NI** Differences between the major parties on main issues during the 1920's were not clearly defined.
11. **T F O NI** In general, the liberals of both major parties have tended to think more or less alike while conservatives of both parties have found much in common.

Summarizing Activity

D. Below are a number of statements concerned with the content of this chapter. Underscore items that are illustrations of the "New Democracy."

1. There seems to be a tendency for reform movements to rise and fall.
2. The Australian ballot was introduced in the late 1800's.
3. In the early 1900's the direct primary, initiative, referendum and recall were adopted in some states.
4. Party machines and party bosses try to dominate government.
5. Five states of the "Solid South" voted Republican in 1928.
6. The struggle for equal political rights for women began just about 100 years ago.
7. Wyoming territory granted suffrage to women in 1869.
8. A third party movement led by Senator Robert M. La Follette polled nearly 5,000,000 votes in the presidential election of 1924.
9. An issue in the presidential election of 1928 was farm relief.
10. The city-manager form of government has been adopted by one in every five cities of 10,000 or more population since 1920.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. In the campaign of 1924 the three candidates who stood out were Calvin Coolidge, John W. Davis and Robert M. La Follette. What reasons can you give for: (a) Coolidge's large electoral vote; (b) the large vote La Follette received?
2. To what extend do you agree *and* disagree with the statements of Presidents Taft and Wilson concerning direct government that are given in Paragraph 4 of this chapter? Give specific reasons for your answers in each instance.
3. Some of the ailments common to political democracy are: (a) "Invisible Government"; (b) indifference of voters. Describe ways and means that have been developed since the turn of the century to counteract these conditions.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Some materials touching upon the content of this chapter are: J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps. xliv, xlv; C. A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, chaps. xxiv, pp. 715-727; R. E. Keohane, M. P. Keohane and J. D. McGoldrick, *Government in Action*, chaps. vii-ix. More specific treatments of this era in our history are: F. L. Allen, *Only Yesterday*; H. Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times*; S. P. Orth, *The Boss and the Machine*, chaps. ix-x; and M. Sullivan, *Our Times*, VI.

Biographies:

Try G. Bradford, *The Quick and the Dead*, pp. 221-58, for Calvin Coolidge; or W. A. White, *A Puritan in Babylon*; or *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge*. Accounts of Herbert Hoover are: W. Irwin, *Herbert Hoover*; E. Reeves, *This Man Hoover*. Alfred E. Smith's story is told in his *Up to Now, An Autobiography*.

Historical Novels:

In addition to the novels mentioned in the previous chapter, W. Payne, *The Money Captain*, and D. Canfield, *The Home Maker*, may be of interest.

CHAPTER VIII

Whither the New Democracy

THE GREAT DEPRESSION PRODUCES A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

1. The Hoover Years. In recent times no man took office under more favorable political skies than those which smiled upon President Hoover on March 4, 1929.[1] Millions of people had voted their faith in him to carry on the march toward normalcy and still greater prosperity, and had given him substantial majorities in both houses of Congress. The President immediately called a special session of Congress for farm relief and "limited changes" in the tariff, and received from that body in 1930 the Hawley-Smoot Act providing for the highest rates ever enacted. This act the President signed against the advice of some party leaders and over the protest of more than 1000 American economists of all parties. His farm relief program created a Federal Farm Board which failed to accomplish much for the farmers.

In the 1928 campaign Hoover had referred to prohibition as "a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far-reaching in purpose." A few months after taking office the President appointed the Wickersham Commission to investigate prohibition and other law enforcement. When the commission reported, it favored further trial of prohibition but a majority questioned whether national prohibition could be adequately enforced. Under the circumstances President Hoover took no action on the commission's reports relating to the fundamental issue of prohibition.

Whatever plans Hoover had for improving domestic conditions were rendered useless by the stock market crash late in 1929. Business was soon affected, and the "gravest economic crisis the American people have ever faced" was cruelly on its way, apparently beyond the control of man or party. By 1932 a conservative estimate put the unemployed at 12,000,000, and the confident administration prediction that prosperity was "just around the corner" ceased to be reassuring. The President's delayed pro-

[1] The inaugural scene was unique in one respect. Chief Justice Taft, a former President, administered the oath of office to Mr. Hoover, while the retiring President, Mr. Coolidge, looked on.

posals for relief were called ineffectual or inadequate. The feeling grew that Mr. Hoover's leadership was failing. His popularity was undoubtedly waning, and to make matters worse Congress was out of control.

In foreign affairs, however, the record was better. In 1930 this country joined in the London Naval Conference for further naval limitation. The Secretary of State showed a willingness to coöperate with the League of Nations, and the President urged membership in the World Court. Our Caribbean policy was less military, and good relations continued with Mexico.

Professor Nevins, surveying the political scene as the Hoover years were coming to a close, wrote that President Hoover "can run a department or set of departments with great skill; he can organize forces to meet an emergency; but he cannot direct a party, lead a parliamentary group or guide public opinion." Neither friend nor foe doubted the President's desire to serve his fellow men patriotically; all appreciated his incessant labors under great odds to set America again upon her economic course.

2. **Roosevelt Succeeds Hoover.** Excepting Monroe, no President has survived a major economic crisis. Having captured the House in 1930, the Democrats believed that the unpopularity of the Hoover administration would win them the Presidency in 1932. They nominated Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, twice governor of New York and a fifth cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, as their presidential candidate, and John N. Garner of Texas, Speaker of the House of Representatives, as his running-mate. With no recognized opposition from within the party, President Hoover was renominated by the Republicans, as was Vice President Charles E. Curtis of Kansas. The Socialists, attacking capitalism and insisting that the difference between the major parties was insignificant nominated Norman Thomas a second time.

The major party platforms differed primarily in two respects: (1) in length, and (2) on prohibition. The Republican platform contained about 9000 words; the Democrats wrote a record-breaking brief declaration of less than 1500 words. On the issues of economy, unemployment relief, agriculture and world relations, the platforms were much alike; each omitted mention of the soldier's bonus. The Republicans favored extension of the protective tariff to products of the farm, forests, mines and oil wells; the Democrats stood for a "competitive tariff for revenue." On prohibition the Democrats declared flatly for *repeal* of Amendment XVIII, while the Republicans demanded only its *revision*. Although the Democratic plank stood for outright repeal, it did favor protection to the "dry" states under federal laws. Each party declared its opposition to the return of the saloon.

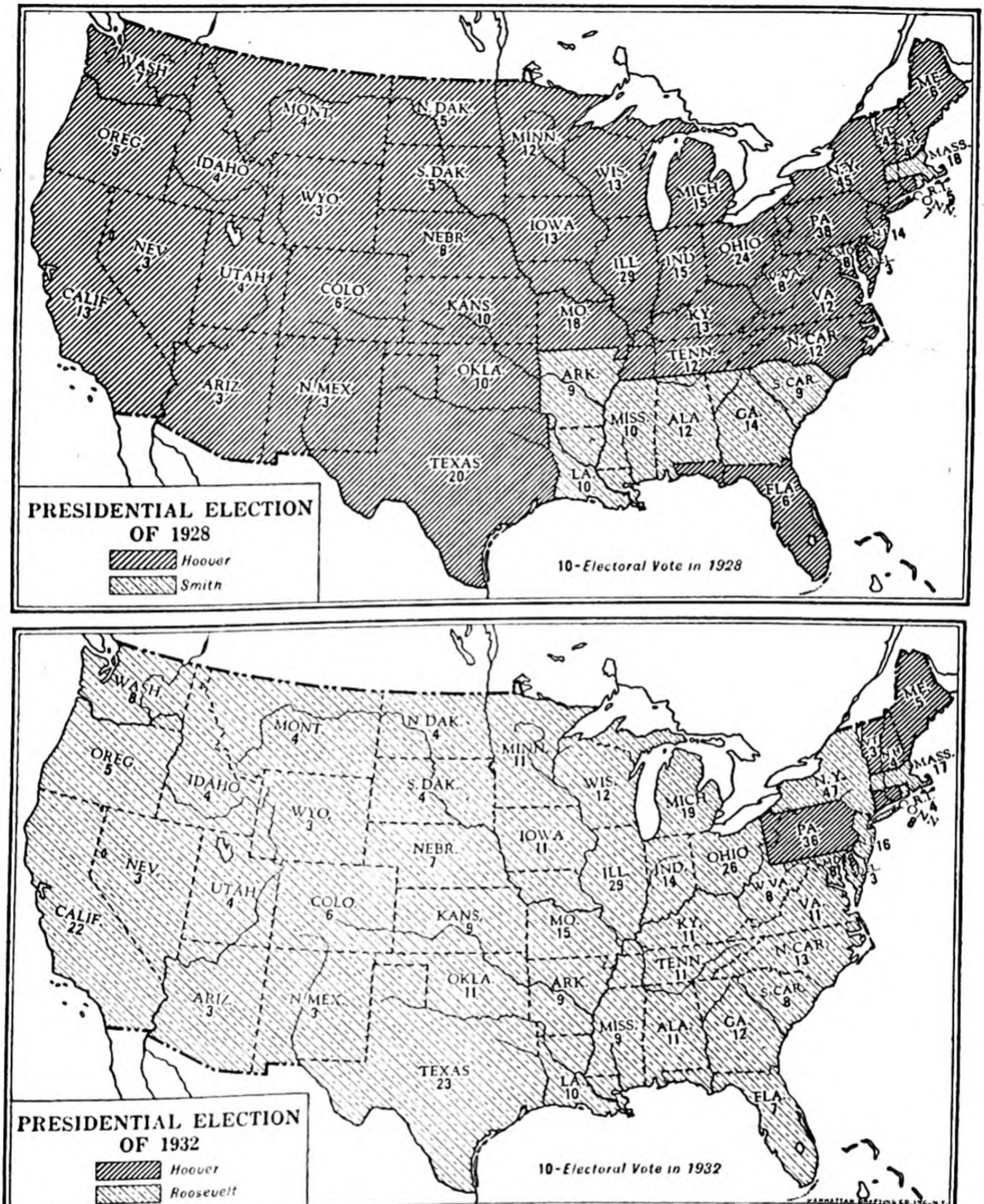

FIG. 15

THE "DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION" OF 1932. In the campaign Roosevelt put the administration on the defensive from the start by attacking the Hoover economic policies. Cautiously, if not vaguely, he suggested means for aid to unemployment and agriculture, and pledged himself and

his party to a "New Deal" for the American people. He confidently predicted the doom of Amendment XVIII. Almost single-handed, President Hoover campaigned in defense of his policies, as the progressives in his party largely turned to Roosevelt. When at length the candidates had talked themselves out, the defeat of Hoover followed, as the straw votes had so accurately forecast.

Roosevelt carried 42 states with 472 electoral votes, while the remaining six states with 59 electoral votes went to Hoover (see fig. 15). In popular votes Roosevelt received almost 23,000,000, Hoover approximately 16,000,000, Thomas under 900,000. In the House the Democrats captured 313 seats, in the Senate 28 of the 35 Senators-elect, and in the states 29 of the 34 governors-elect. The Republicans remained in full control in but one state (Vermont). Not only were both houses Democratic, but for the first time under national prohibition a majority of Congress was "wet." In polling 57 per cent of the popular votes, Roosevelt was the first Democratic President in 80 years to secure a majority. Never before had a four-year reversal been so complete. Not since the War between the States had a presidential landslide been so great. The result was generally interpreted as anti-Hoover rather than pro-Roosevelt. The sufferings and fears born of depression, coupled with a revolt against prohibition, set up a demand for change that Republican promises could not prevent.

3. **The "New Deal."** When Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated as the last of the Presidents to take office on the historic fourth of March [116], a crisis of the first order was upon the country. Business came to a standstill, banks in every state but two were closed or their business restricted by governors' proclamations, farmers openly defied their creditors, and a vast army of unemployed walked the streets. In a brief Inaugural Address the President cautioned against unreasoning fear, denounced the "unscrupulous money changers," and criticized the outgoing administration for lack of leadership. He promised "leadership of this great army of people, dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems." He pledged a special session of Congress to deal with the emergency, and intimated that he would ask for wartime power if necessary to lead the American people out of their difficulties. "This nation asks for action, and action now," spoke the President.

Action was immediate and sustained as the President took up the challenge. Within 24 hours of the first day in office two presidential proclamations were issued. One declared a nation-wide bank holiday, preparatory to federal direction of all banking during the emergency, and prohibited the export of gold. The second called Congress into extraordinary session four days later. During the 100-day special session the

country got its first measure of the new leadership. The President sent to Congress a series of crisp messages accompanied by bills prepared in the White House. Within 14 weeks 15 major acts were passed. The legislative record of the special session was remarkable for congressional response to able presidential leadership. The resulting legislation, as well as that of later sessions, was concerned chiefly with economic matters and consisted of two types: (1) emergency acts, and (2) long-range measures designed to correct the weaknesses and outstanding evils of the existing economic order. The chief measures of the New Deal to January, 1942 may be grouped for convenience under the following headings:[1]

1. *Agricultural Relief:* Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933);[2] Farm Mortgage Act (1934); Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (1936); Agricultural Adjustment Act ("Second AAA") (1938).

2. *Industrial and Commercial Recovery:* National Industrial Recovery Act (1933);[2] Emergency Railroad Transportation Act (1933); Reciprocal Tariff (Trade Agreement) Acts of 1934, 1937 and 1940; Bituminous Coal Conservation Act (1935);[2] Ship Subsidy Act (1936); Guffey-Vinson Bituminous Coal Act (1937); Wheeler-Lea Transportation Act (1940).

3. *Labor:* National Labor Relations Act (1935): Walsh-Healey Government Contracts Act (1936); Fair Labor Standards Act (1938).

4. *Banking and Financial Reform:* Banking Acts of 1933 and 1935; Gold Repeal Resolution (1933); Securities and Exchange Act (1934).

5. *Emergency Unemployment Relief:* Reforestation Unemployment Relief Act (1933); Federal Emergency Relief Act (1933); Public Works Administration (1933); Civil Works Administration (1933); Works Progress Administration (1935).

6. *Social Security:* Home Owners Loan Act (1934); Social Security Act (1935); Wagner-Steagall Housing Act (1937).

7. *Political Reforms:* Amendment XX (1933); Supreme Court Retirement Act (1937); Judicial Procedure Reform Act (1937); Propaganda Agency Act (1938); Anti-Propaganda Act (1940); Government Reorganization Act (1939); Hatch Political Activity Acts of 1939 and 1940; Ramspeck Civil Service Act (1940).

8. *Other Relief and Reform Acts:* Muscle Shoals-Tennessee Valley Development Act (1933); Communications Act (1934); Motor Carrier Act (1935); Public Utility Holding Company Act (1935); Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act (1938).

9. *World Relations:* Recognition of Soviet Union (1933); repeal of Platt Amendment (Cuba) (1934); Philippine Independence Act (1934); Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, 1939 and 1941; Lease-Lend Act (1941).

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[1] The primary purpose of this brief classification is to give you a bird's-eye view of the New Deal. Acts of 1933 are representative of the legislation of the 100-day special session.

[2] Declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

10. *National Defense:* Naval Expansion Acts of 1938 and 1940; Two-Ocean Navy Act (1940); National Defense Acts of 1939, 1940 and 1941; Selective Training and Service Acts of 1940 and 1941.

4. **Roosevelt's Creed.** As this unprecedented stream of legislation poured from a submissive Congress, several questions naturally arose. Why, after the comparative legislative calm of the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover Era, was there this flood of laws? Was the Congress a mere "rubber stamp," blindly nodding assent to bills hastily devised by the White House? Considered as a whole, was there a consistent philosophy of political, economic and social thought back of these New Deal laws? To answer the last question first, the New Dealers claimed that much of their program was to be found in the Democratic platform of 1932, modified as time and circumstance demanded. The general purposes of the new legislation, they pointed out, were (1) to restore the buying power of the farmer, (2) to revive industrial activity and create jobs, (3) to raise the price level so that the man in debt would not be crushed by his burden, and (4) to give the average citizen a better income, greater leisure and more security from economic risks. As one of the ablest of the President's advisers put it: "The effort is not to destroy our institutions, but to save them from the poison of unlimited greed, and to turn the results of common effort toward more general benefits."

One thing seemed clear as the Roosevelt New Deal progressed: The Democratic party under its new leadership stood for some sort of planned economy and control over economic life, as opposed to the "rugged individualism" (or lack of rigid governmental control) of previous Republican administrations. In the pursuit of these ideals, the New Deal (to answer the first question raised above) felt obliged to legislate widely to meet the emergency confronting it when it took office. Young and liberal blood flowed in the veins of the new leaders as Roosevelt passed by the great majority of old leaders in his party in the selection of aides. Only toward the end of his second term, as the world situation grew more threatening, did Roosevelt add several older men to the cabinet. Important among these additions were two Republicans: Henry L. Stimson to head the War Department and Frank Knox to become Secretary of the Navy. Stimson had been Secretary of War under Taft and Secretary of State under Hoover, while Knox, a newspaper publisher, had been, as we shall see, the 1936 vice-presidential candidate on the Republican ticket. Precedents were smashed, women were given responsible federal positions to a greater extent than ever before, and the usual observance of "senatorial courtesy" by the President sometimes ignored.

A Popular Mandate in 1936. The New Dealers regarded the results of the election of 1932 as a popular demand for change in both men and measures. Despite mounting criticism on the part of Republicans and "Old Deal" Democrats, the congressional election of 1934 increased the President's strength in Congress. As the presidential election of 1936 approached, the New Deal and the President were under fire from certain

Press Association, Inc.

Roosevelt Meets the Gentlemen of the Press

Throughout his administrations the President has held regular conferences with the press. Here the President, who knows many of the reporters by their first names, is holding a news conference. At the President's left a secretary is taking a record of the conversation. Unless permission is given the President must not be quoted directly.

quarters. The fact that the Congress which adjourned in June, 1936, appropriated a total of nearly $20,000,000,000 during its two sessions, added fuel to the fires of opposition. The Republicans, hopeful that the discontent would react to their advantage, nominated Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas as their presidential candidate and Frank Knox of Illinois as their vice-presidential candidate. The Democratic convention

unanimously renominated Roosevelt and Garner. Also it substituted a simple majority vote for the century-old two-thirds vote for nomination.

Again the two major platforms were essentially alike. The Republican platform followed the New Deal lead on the issues of social welfare and farm relief. But there were two outstanding differences: (1) the G. O. P. stood by its high protective tariff, while the Democrats sought more trade through reciprocal trade agreements;[1] (2) the Democrats called for a clarifying amendment *if necessary* to bring about social and economic reform within the Constitution, while the Republican platform was silent on the issue. Candidate Landon, however, favored such an amendment.

A spirited campaign followed the conventions, as Republican orators and Old-Guard Democrats (notably Alfred E. Smith and John W. Davis, former Democratic presidential candidates) charged the New Deal with "regimentation," with endangering the "American way of life," with undermining constitutional government and with extravagance. Endorsed by progressives of all parties and by the Labor Non-Partisan League, Roosevelt replied by emphasizing the undeniable measure of economic recovery that had come to the nation under the New Deal. He denied that individual liberties were interfered with and he pointed out that New Deal expenditures in the emergency were justified by the increased national income. As in 1932 Candidate Roosevelt made few if any specific promises of future action, but left the impression that if reëlected he would push forward the New Deal policies.

When the bitter campaign ended, Roosevelt was overwhelmingly reëlected, despite straw ballots to the contrary and despite the opposition of about 80 per cent of the larger newspapers of the country. The President won 523 electoral votes in 46 states and more than 27,000,000 popular votes. Landon polled upwards of 17,000,000 popular votes, but received only the eight electoral votes of Maine and Vermont. The Roosevelt landslide further increased Democratic control in Congress. Since the New Deal had been the issue of the campaign, the outcome of the election could only be interpreted as a smashing personal victory for Roosevelt and his policies. In view of the election returns, the Congress could scarcely be criticized for following so closely the President's leadership in the past. He and his policies had returned them to office in increasing numbers in 1934 and again in 1936.

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[1] The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act gives the President power to raise or lower existing tariff rates by as much as 50 per cent. At the outbreak of the Second World War the United States had over 20 such agreements with other nations. Because these agreements are made by the State Department, the making of tariffs is, in effect, taken out of the hands of Congress.

5. The Smashing of a Great Tradition. As Roosevelt's second term wore on, however, it appeared that the New Deal was losing popularity—at least in some quarters. The President suffered his first electoral setback in the congressional election of 1938, when the Republicans gained 81 seats in the House, eight in the Senate and 15 state governorships. Whatever the causes of these losses, one important question arose: Could the Republicans capture the Presidency in 1940, especially since the two-term tradition for that office appeared to be so well established? Under the circumstances there was a spirited preconvention campaign among the Republicans, but in the end the convention's presidential nomination went to Wendell L. Willkie of New York, a former Democrat, and the vice-presidential nomination to Charles L. McNary of Oregon, Senate Republican leader. Willkie, as president of a public utility company, had long been an outspoken opponent of the TVA experiment. Nevertheless, liberal Republicans believed that Willkie would bring to the party a fresh point of view and a new type of leadership. As a Senator, McNary had for two decades advocated an advanced type of farm relief legislation.

Roosevelt withheld announcement of his intentions until the second day of the Democratic convention. Then he let it be known through the chairman of the convention that he "never had, and has not today, any desire or purpose to continue in the office of the President, to be a candidate for that office, or to be nominated by the convention for that office." Although this apparently meant that the Democratic delegates could nominate any one for the Presidency, in effect it meant that only Roosevelt had a chance. Other candidates, uncertain what the President would do, had practically been prevented from campaigning. The President had not forbidden the use of his name in the primaries; and, finally, powerful political bosses were at the convention to assure Roosevelt's nomination. There was little surprise, therefore, when the President was nominated for a third term on the first ballot. In part to offset the McNary nomination, the convention, at the suggestion of the President, nominated Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace for the Vice-Presidency.

As has so often happened in recent years, the Republican and Democratic platforms were more alike than different. They were much alike in favoring: (1) a foreign policy of aid to the nations fighting aggressor dictators but opposition to our involvement in foreign wars; (2) a strong national defense program; (3) a program of extension of social security; (4) the right of collective bargaining for labor; and (5) an agricultural program. In two important respects the platforms differed: (1) the Republicans would have federal relief funds and unemployment compensation administered by the states rather than by the federal government; and (2) the Republicans were more concerned than the Democrats over

the future of free private enterprise as against federal control and competition.

Although Willkie fought a vigorous and colorful campaign, he could not, as a former supporter of the President, deny agreement with the New Deal in certain of its domestic and foreign policies. In fact, so close was his agreement on aid to Britain and China and on the need for national defense that his campaign speeches took on more and more the sound of "me, too" to his millions of radio listeners. The President's intensive campaigning was confined to five major speeches in the closing days of the campaign, in which he promised to carry on the social and economic reforms of the New Deal, and restated his opposition to war. As the campaign ended, the voter was confronted with these major issues: the breaking of the two-term tradition, free private enterprise versus broadening government control, the unsolved problems of unemployment and agriculture, and the possibility of involvement in foreign wars. Further to confuse the voter, the large city newspapers carried an unprecedented number of full-page advertisements sponsored by rival, if temporary, political organizations of every description. Even the polls were cautious in predicting the 1940 outcome, although they tended to favor Roosevelt by a narrow margin.

When the greatest free ballot of any country in the world was counted, the President won 449 electoral votes in 38 states and more than 27,000,000 popular votes. Willkie, though polling more than 22,000,000 votes and more than any previous Republican candidate, carried only ten states with their 82 electoral votes—states mostly in the agricultural Middle West. A domestic and foreign crisis had smashed the long-standing "two-term" tradition. Significant as this was, the similar positions on foreign affairs taken by the candidates made it possible for the defeated Willkie to stand solidly behind the President in his efforts to speed our national defense and "all-out" aid to Britain and later to Soviet Russia.

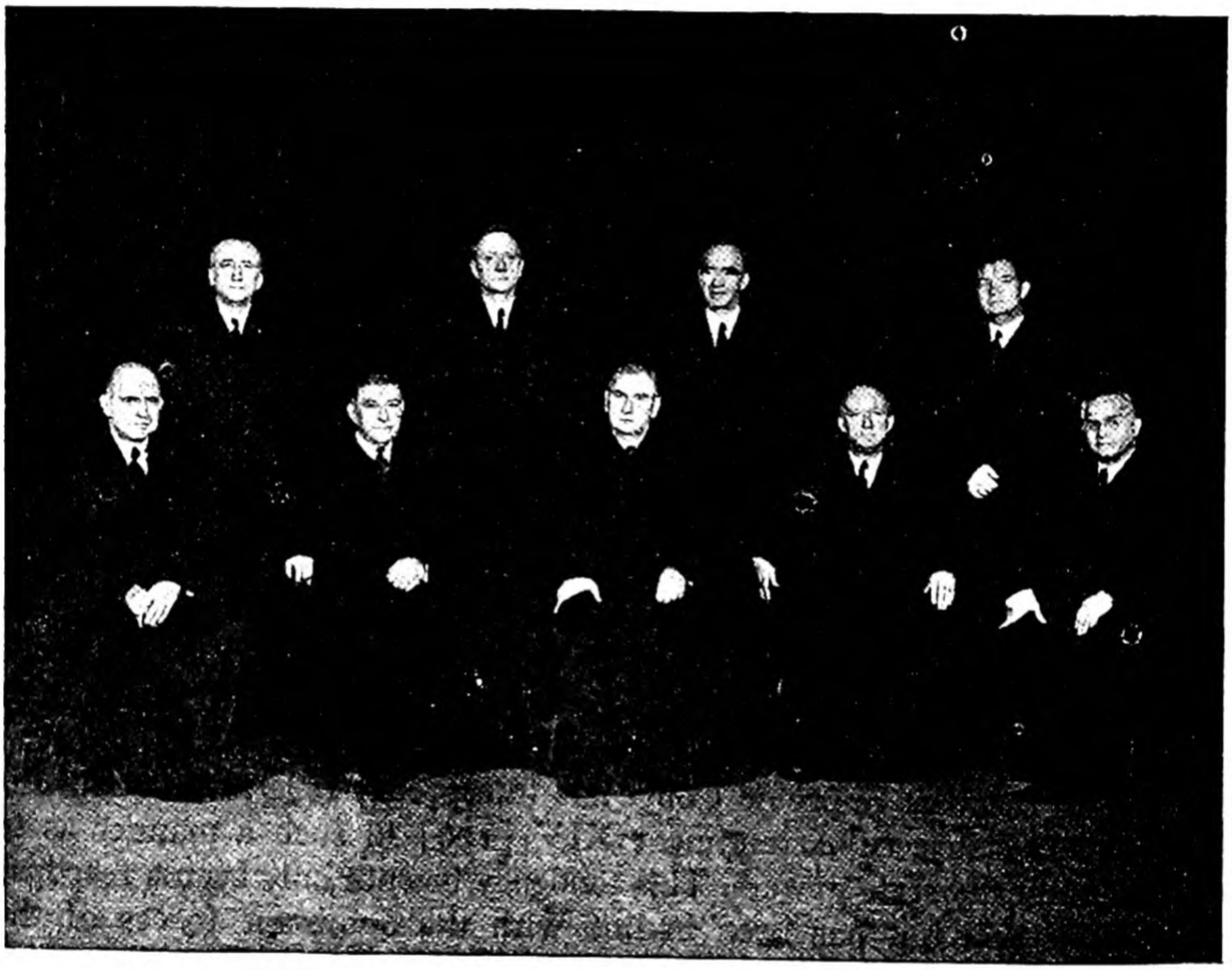
6. Trend of Supreme Court Decisions. If the federal judiciary is the most powerful element in our governmental system, a brief study of its history is essential to an understanding of American development. Throughout the years the judiciary has not only grown in power but its decisions have of necessity been concerned with an increasing variety of subjects. The judiciary not only interprets laws and passes upon their constitutionality, but indirectly makes laws, for its decision on the validity of a law may affect for decades a certain type of legislation. And in arriving at its decisions, former Chief Justice Hughes has said that the "Constitution is what the judges say it is." The trend of Supreme Court decisions, as a consequence, is of the utmost importance.

Much criticism has been hurled at the Supreme Court on the ground that it has been dominated by old men essentially conservative in their economic and social outlook. Moreover, it has been charged that the justices are concerned only with the legal aspects of a case and are more interested in the rights of property than in the rights of man. The fact that a law of vital importance may be nullified by a 5-to-4 decision has led many to question the advisability of allowing one man to block the will of the legislative and executive branches. To meet this condition, various amendments to the Constitution have been proposed in Congress, limiting or actually abolishing the power of the Supreme Court to nullify a law of Congress. Speaking on this point, Mr. Justice Holmes said in 1913: "I do not think the United States would come to an end if we [the Court] lost our power to declare an act of Congress void. I do think the Union would be imperiled if we could not make that declaration as to the laws of the several states."

THE SUPREME COURT AND POPULAR OPINION. Courts, like legislative assemblies, are composed of human beings who cannot fail in the long run to be influenced by the spirit of the times; and in the end the courts, like the legislatures, respond to popular will. With some notable exceptions, such as the Dred Scott decision (*I, 15*) and the decision nullifying the income tax provision of the tariff of 1894, the decisions of the Supreme Court have not been far out of line with popular opinion. The nationalistic decisions of the Supreme Court under Marshall followed a popular trend, as did the reaction to state's rights illustrated in many of the decisions under Taney. Since the War between the States, it is not surprising that the Supreme Court has interpreted federal laws and the due-process clause of Amendment XIV [100] in such a manner as to restrict radically state powers. This tendency has not only been a response to popular will but has been in line with the dominant forces of the machine age. Nor have the courts been entirely unresponsive to popular will in regard to property rights and social legislation. Extremely conservative in the decades after the War between the States, the state and supreme courts became more liberal during the days of Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson, only to turn conservative again in the post-war reaction. Indeed, since 1920 the Supreme Court has nullified almost as many acts of Congress as in the previous 130 years.

7. The Supreme Court and the New Deal. Periodically, however, the gap widens between the legislative and executive departments on the one hand and the judiciary on the other. In the period from 1935 to 1937, for instance, the federal Supreme Court viewed a significant number of New Deal laws with a suspicious eye. Of 25 major decisions relating to New Deal legislation or activities, the Court supported the administration

14 times but declared its acts unconstitutional 11 times. Incidentally, 12 of the New Deal victories came in the 1936-37 term of the Court. Typical of important measures ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court were the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act—pillars of the New Deal temple of economic reform. These and other New Deal acts were declared void by the Supreme Court for the following reasons: (1) unconstitutional invasion of state powers by



Acme

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY, 1942

Seated, left to right, are Associate Justices Reed and Roberts, Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone, Associate Justices Black and Frankfurter. Standing, left to right, are Associate Justices Byrnes, Douglas, Murphy and Jackson.

Congress [95]; (2) unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the President [2]; (3) use of congressional power over commerce and taxation for the purpose of unconstitutional regulation and control of industry and agriculture [26, 28]; and (4) unconstitutional invasion of property rights [90].

Thus the issue was drawn: On the one hand there was an administration with a popular mandate unparalleled in modern times and on the other hand a Supreme Court decreeing that the Congress and the Presi-

dent had time and again exceeded constitutional limits. Disturbing too was the fact that the Court had handed down within a four-year period more than twenty 5-to-4 decisions involving federal or state laws—a record for the Court. Sharper and more bitter became the dissenting opinions of the liberal justices as they referred to "judicial fiat [decree]," to "a tortured construction" of the Constitution, and to "personal economic predilections [mental preferences]" in the majority opinions.

JUDICIAL REORGANIZATION REJECTED. In the face of the trend of Supreme Court decisions and the increasing number of 5-to-4 decisions, New Dealers and liberals alike began anew their clamor for either judicial reform by congressional act or by constitutional amendment, or both. In a surprise move early in 1937, President Roosevelt laid before the Congress a comprehensive plan for the reorganization of the federal judicial system. The part of the plan which especially aroused the country concerned the Supreme Court. Contained in the President's message and accompanying bill was a provision for the appointment of an additional justice for every Supreme Court justice who failed to retire within six months following the age of 70. The total number of justices under this provision was not, however, to exceed 15.

Congress promptly passed the Supreme Court Retirement Act allowing full pay for any justice who retired at the age of 70, but there it stopped. In July, 1937—after five months of bitter debate that threatened to disrupt the Democratic party—administration leaders in the Senate withdrew the Roosevelt plan for "reform" of the Supreme Court. A month later, however, the Judicial Procedure Reform Act was passed, which provided much needed reform of appeal from lower federal courts to the Supreme Court in cases involving acts of Congress whose constitutionality was at stake.

In the midst of the New Deal drive for judicial reorganization, the Supreme Court suddenly reversed itself and in a 5-to-4 decision upheld a state minimum wage law for women. Likewise, the same Court approved a month later in a 5-to-4 ruling the National Labor Relations Act. This latter decision made it plain that labor's right to bargain collectively was to be upheld, and also seemed to indicate that the Court's attitude was changing. (On the issue of labor alone, the Court, within the next few years, upheld the right of Congress to fix hours and wages under the Fair Labor Standards Act, and reversed itself when it outlawed child labor and exempted labor unions from anti-trust suits.)

Retirement or death of older justices shortly played into President Roosevelt's hands. Between August, 1937 and January, 1942, he was called upon to appoint seven members of the Court, including a Chief Justice—a record exceeded only by President Washington. To be the

twelfth Chief Justice the President elevated the moderately liberal Harlan Fiske Stone, a New York Republican, originally appointed to the Supreme Court by Coolidge. Liberals were appointed to the other vacancies as they occurred.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INCREASES ITS POWER

8. The Growth of Bureaucracy. When Jefferson became the first Secretary of State, he found a staff of two clerks; in 1939 that department alone had over 5700 civil service employees. In 1800 when the federal capital was moved from Philadelphia to Washington, there were 64 clerks employed by the federal government; on June 30, 1939—before the national defense program greatly affected government employment—over 920,000 employees were on its pay rolls.[1] The Navy Department in that year had over 85,000 employees, the War Department over 109,000, the Treasury over 68,000 and the Department of Agriculture over 107,000. Obviously this growth in the number of public servants has been far more rapid than the increase in population. It is estimated that nearly one-tenth of the gainfully occupied people in the United States in 1942 were employed in the public service of the 165,000 federal, state, and local political units at an annual cost of $6,000,000,000.

The increasing cost of government has aroused the taxpayer to wonder whether the functions of government have not been unduly extended. Of the many factors which have caused this expansion, at least three should be mentioned. In the first place, the machine age has caused the government to take on new duties. The problems created by railroads, radio, and electric power, with their resulting control commissions at Washington, make this point clear.[2] In the second place, economic and social interests of all kinds are pressing the government for aid and assistance. The result is a continuous addition of bureaus to the various departments and the frequent setting up of boards and commissions to administer new laws.[3] The problems of the machine age are so complex

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[1] This figure does not include the legislative or judicial services, or the commissioned or enlisted men of the military services, or the personnel of the *government* of the District of Columbia. Of the 920,000 employees, 86 per cent were in service outside of Washington, and of the total number 81 per cent were men. By June 30, 1941, the total was over 1,300,000, and by June 30, 1943, over 3,000,000—the peak of wartime government employment. By January, 1944, the total dropped to 2,280,000. These wartime figures included thousands of persons serving for one dollar a year or without pay on ration boards and selective service boards.

[2] The Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Communications Commission, and Federal Power Commission are examples of such control commissions.

[3] Thus by June 30, 1941, five new agencies—Federal Loan Agency, Selective Service System, Tennessee Valley Authority, Federal Works Agency and Federal Security

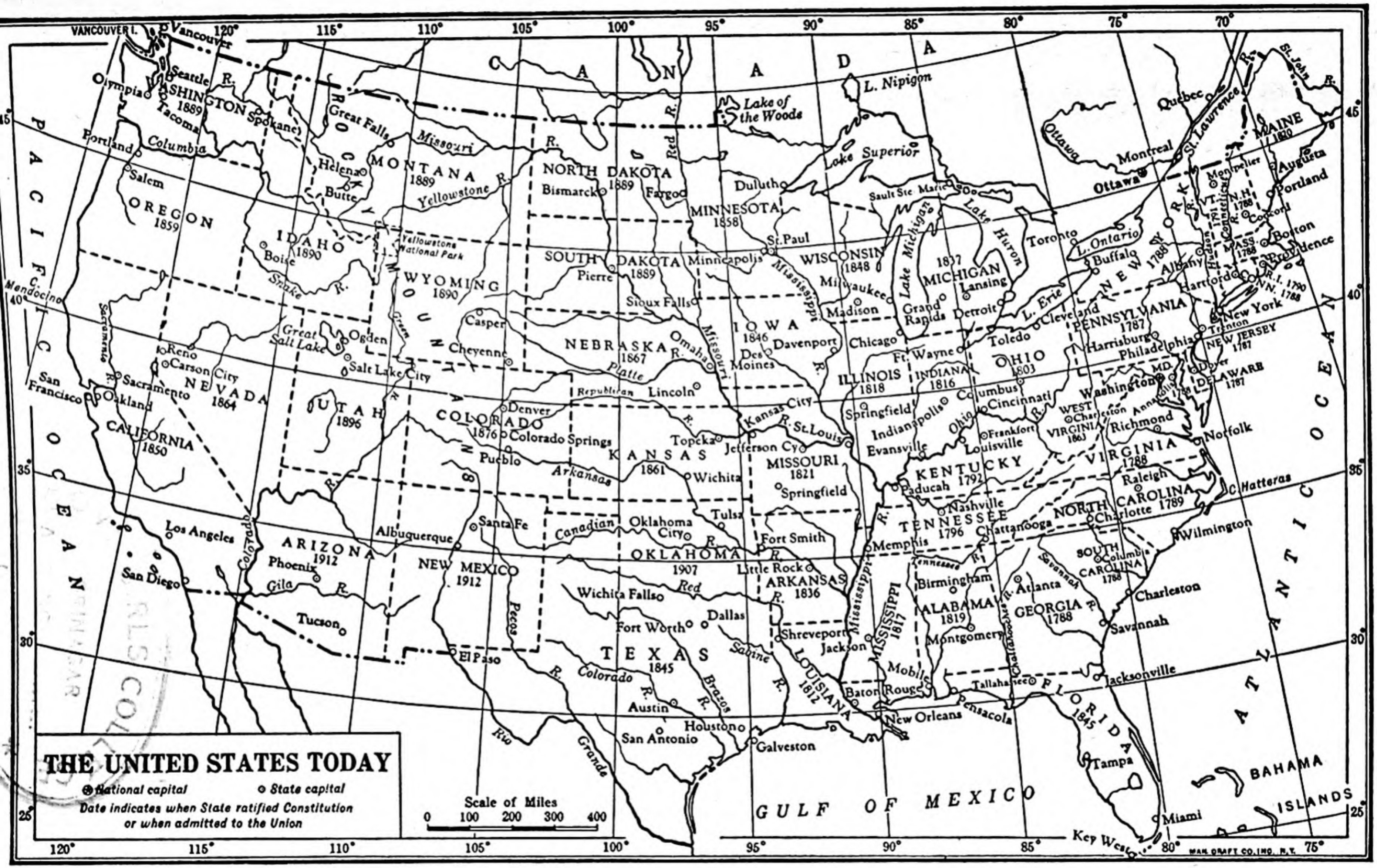
THE UNITED STATES TODAY
National capital
State capital
Date indicates when State ratified Constitution or when admitted to the Union
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA ISLANDS
WASHINGTON 1889
OREGON 1859
CALIFORNIA 1850
NEVADA 1864
IDAHO 1890
MONTANA 1889
WYOMING 1890
UTAH 1896
ARIZONA 1912
NEW MEXICO 1912
COLORADO 1876
NORTH DAKOTA 1889
SOUTH DAKOTA 1889
NEBRASKA 1867
KANSAS 1861
OKLAHOMA 1907
TEXAS 1845
MINNESOTA 1858
IOWA 1846
MISSOURI 1821
ARKANSAS 1836
LOUISIANA 1812
WISCONSIN 1848
ILLINOIS 1818
MICHIGAN 1837
INDIANA 1816
OHIO 1803
KENTUCKY 1792
TENNESSEE 1796
MISSISSIPPI 1817
ALABAMA 1819
GEORGIA 1788
FLORIDA 1845
SOUTH CAROLINA 1788
NORTH CAROLINA 1789
VIRGINIA 1788
WEST VIRGINIA 1863
PENNSYLVANIA 1787
NEW YORK 1788
MAINE 1820
VT. 1791
N.H. 1788
MASS. 1788
R.I. 1790
CONN. 1788
NEW JERSEY 1787
DELAWARE 1787
MD. 1788
Vancouver
Seattle
Olympia
Tacoma
Spokane
Portland
Salem
Columbia R.
Great Falls
Missouri R.
Helena
Butte
Yellowstone R.
Yellowstone National Park
Bismarck
Fargo
Red R.
Lake of the Woods
L. Nipigon
Lake Superior
Duluth
Sault Ste Marie
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Quebec
Ottawa
Montreal
St. Lawrence R.
St. John R.
Toronto
Buffalo
Albany
Boise
Snake R.
Pierre
Sioux Falls
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Milwaukee
Madison
Chicago
Grand Rapids
Detroit
Lansing
Cleveland
Toledo
Ft. Wayne
Indianapolis
Springfield
Evansville
Cincinnati
Columbus
Ohio R.
Louisville
Frankfort
Paducah
Nashville
Memphis
Chattanooga
Birmingham
Atlanta
Montgomery
Mobile
Tallahassee
Jacksonville
Tampa
Miami
Key West
Charleston
Savannah
Wilmington
Raleigh
Charlotte
Norfolk
Richmond
Washington
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
New York
Trenton
Boston
Concord
Providence
Hartford
Montpelier
Augusta
Portland
Reno
Carson City
Great Salt Lake
Ogden
Salt Lake City
Sacramento
San Francisco
Oakland
Mendocino C.
Hatteras C.
Los Angeles
San Diego
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Phoenix
Tucson
Albuquerque
Santa Fe
El Paso
Pecos R.
Rio Grande
Wichita Falls
Fort Worth
Dallas
Austin
San Antonio
Houston
Galveston
Shreveport
Jackson
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Pensacola
Arkansas R.
Pueblo
Colorado Springs
Denver
Cheyenne
Casper
Green R.
Republican R.
Platte R.
Omaha
Missouri R.
Des Moines
Davenport
Kansas City
Topeka
Jefferson Cy
St. Louis
Springfield
Wichita
Tulsa
Oklahoma City
Canadian R.
Fort Smith
Little Rock
Red R.
Sabine R.
Brazos R.
Colorado R.
Mississippi R.
Tennessee R.
Savannah R.
Chattahoochee R.
Kansas R.
Lincoln
Jackson
Columbia
Augusta
Miami
Key West

FIG. 16

and the responsibilities of the government are so great that only experts can handle them. Since the legislative and executive branches have not the time to give to these studies, they must depend upon experts employed to carry on the operations. Finally, the war program added about two million workers to the government pay roll.

9. The Problem of Bureaucracy. The problem, therefore, is not whether bureaus and experts are valuable and necessary. The questions are: (1) whether they have not been overexpanded into fields which the citizen could take care of without government help; (2) whether government has not become too expensive; (3) whether, if we maintain all the present government activities, they can be more efficiently and economically maintained; and finally (4) how can we prevent the various evils of bureaucracy—the delays of red tape, the temptation to "pass the buck," opposition to change and experimentation, desire to remain in office and to expand, and occasional displays of indifference to public interests. The answer to none of these questions is easy. The tendency of bureaus, to cite but one evil, to extend their own operations always finds warm support from one or more interested groups of citizens. How far the activities of the federal government extend is well illustrated by Dr. Beard, who tells how one student in the State of Arkansas

> encountered federal assistance in the form of financial grants or official coöperation, or both, in the following branches of its work: road construction, equipment and management of the militia, county health work, civilian vocational rehabilitation, agricultural and home economics extension, vocational education, maintenance of the land-grant college, collection of crop statistics, plant disease and pest quarantine control, eradication of tuberculosis in cattle, hog cholera control, extermination of cattle tick, forest fire prevention, promotion of forestry, conduct of free employment service, special studies of ground waters, topographical surveying and stream gauging.

In some of these activities expenditures from the federal Treasury ran from two to five times the outlays from state and local sources. Each form of assistance listed is extremely valuable, and the tendency is to throw more burden upon the federal government rather than less. A general survey of governmental functions during the past 40 years points to the conclusion that up to 1915 the tendency was for an increasing social control over economic processes, as is seen in the more rigorous supervision over railroads, trusts, corporations and banks. These regulating functions of the government did not decrease during the First World War and post-war years, but actually expanded into new fields. The great

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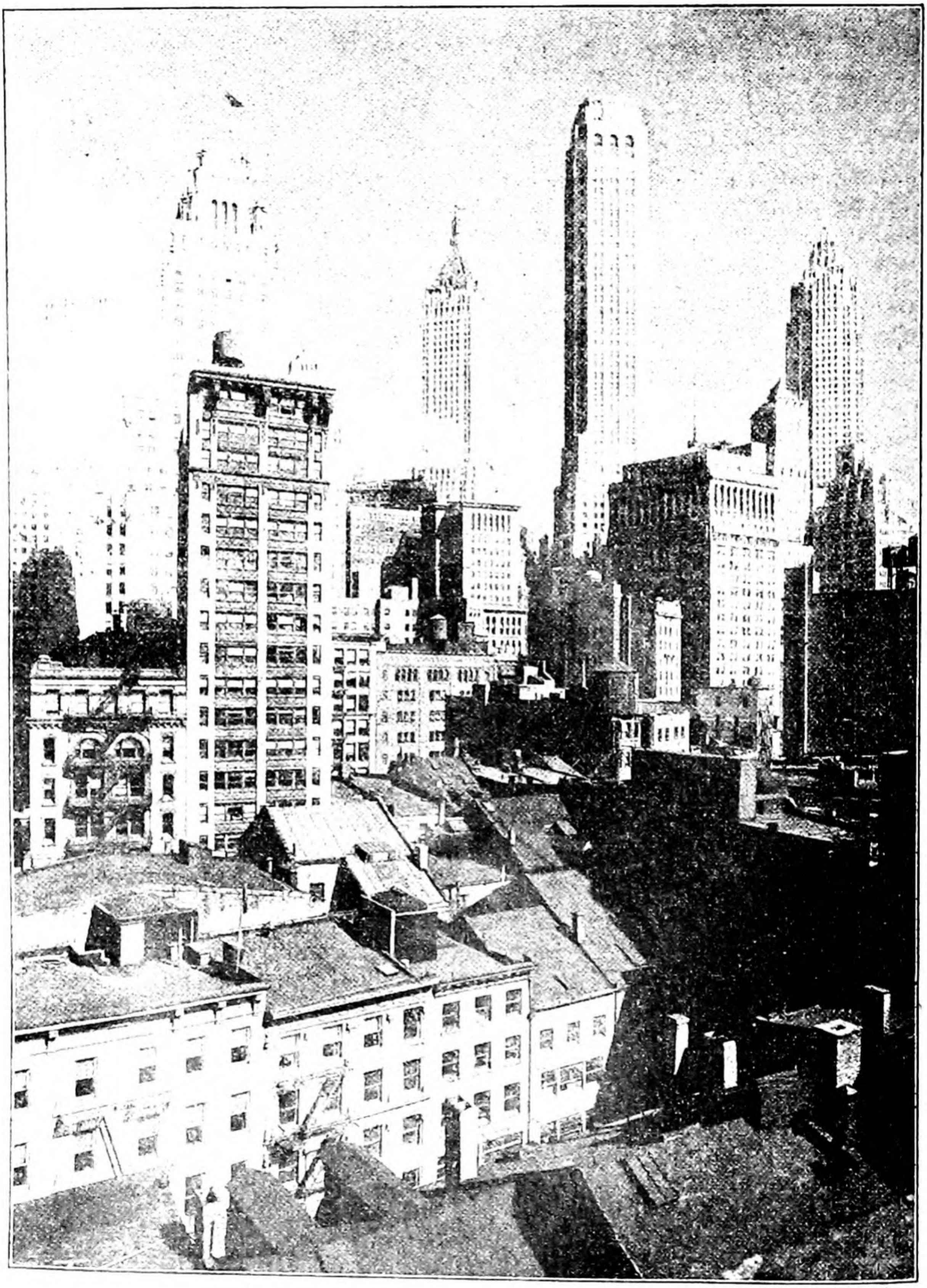
Agency—added approximately 130,000 employees. Of this total only a relatively small number were transferred from agencies existing before the New Deal.

increase in the number of public servants can be traced to the expansion of the functions of government along the lines of control and service. Fortunately, with the expansion of bureaucracy, there has been advancement in civil service reform (*IV, 7-11*).

10. Reorganizing the Government. The rapid development of governmental activities and agencies has led many experts to examine critically the organization of our national administration and to demand a general reorganization for the promotion of economy and efficiency. Commissions appointed by both Theodore Roosevelt and Taft made recommendations for the elimination of inefficiency and waste, but Congress ignored the suggestions. A Committee on the Reorganization of Government Departments created by Congress in 1921 recommended consolidations of numerous bureaus, the creation of a Department of National Defense to replace the Army and Navy Departments, and the establishment of a Department of Education and Welfare to bring together the various agencies relating to education, public health, social service and veterans' relief. With the exception of the consolidation of the Army and Navy Departments, these recommendations were endorsed by both Coolidge and Hoover, but again Congress did nothing.

Influenced in 1932 by the depression and the deficit in the budget, Congress granted President Hoover power to effect consolidations subject to congressional approval; but when Hoover presented a comprehensive plan of reorganization to Congress, it was disapproved. On the day before Roosevelt took office, however, the same Congress, granted the new President full power to consolidate, transfer, or eliminate executive agencies, with the exception of major departments. Although Roosevelt made a beginning in reorganization a month after his first inauguration, the emergency which confronted the New Deal soon gave rise to a host of alphabetical agencies which greatly extended federal bureaucracy. Later, after his first reëlection, Roosevelt moved for a comprehensive reorganization of the executive departments, and finally in 1939 Congress responded with the Government Reorganization Act. By this act the President could transfer, consolidate or abolish agencies in the interest of economy and efficiency. However, his plans must be approved by Congress and he may not transfer or abolish the ten major executive departments or certain specified commissions and boards such as the Civil Service Commission and the National Labor Relations Board.

Although the President's plans of reorganization touched a large number of agencies, the most important change concerned the establishment of three new agencies. To replace about 20 agencies, Roosevelt set up three new agencies dealing with the federal activities of (1) security, (2) public works, and (3) lending. Three administrators now took the



Brown Brothers

THE OLD AND NEW IN CITY BUILDING

Downtown New York in the early 1940's. In the foreground are city buildings of the middle of the nineteenth century. On the street behind to the extreme left is an office structure of the late nineteenth century. In the rear are the skyscrapers built since 1920.

place of about 20 and much overlapping of services was eliminated. The gains in these reorganizations were largely in greater efficiency, but some economy was effected.

DIFFICULT PROBLEMS CONFRONT THE CITIZEN

11. **Rising Cost of Government.** A major theme in this chapter has been the expanding functions of government and the consequent increase in the number of public servants. While public expenditures have as a result mounted, this is far from being the only reason for their increase. The accompanying tables and summary statements show that increased federal expenditures bear close relation to the First World War, with its burden of debt and its relief for veterans, to the problems arising out of the depression and to the beginning of the great national defense effort of the Second World War. In state and local budgets the additional burdens can be traced primarily to the great road-building programs made necessary by the coming of the automobile. The growth of cities is another cause, for the cost of government is higher in urban than in rural communities.

The best estimates show that the total tax bill of the nation—federal, state and local—amounted to $2,259,000,000 in 1913, or $23 per capita, while in 1938 the bill was $14,811,000,000, or $114 per capita. We must remember that the dollar had less purchasing power in 1938 than in 1913, and that the national wealth mounted during the period. Nevertheless, the increase was out of proportion both to the inflated dollar and to the growth of wealth. When the depression of 1929 set in, a strong organized protest arose against mounting tax bills.

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

	1913	1939
Civil and Miscellaneous	$167,816,000	$6,302,495,000
War Department	202,129,000	695,780,000
Navy Department	133,263,000	672,969,000
Indians	20,306,000	.....[1]
Pensions and Veterans' Administration	177,072,000	557,071,000
Postal Deficiencies	1,027,000	41,237,000
Interest on Public Debt	22,899,000	940,540,000
Total	$724,512,000	$9,210,092,000

[1] Included in Civil and Miscellaneous.

Figure 17 furnishes an instructive comparison between federal and state expenditures. The table of federal expenses given above will convey

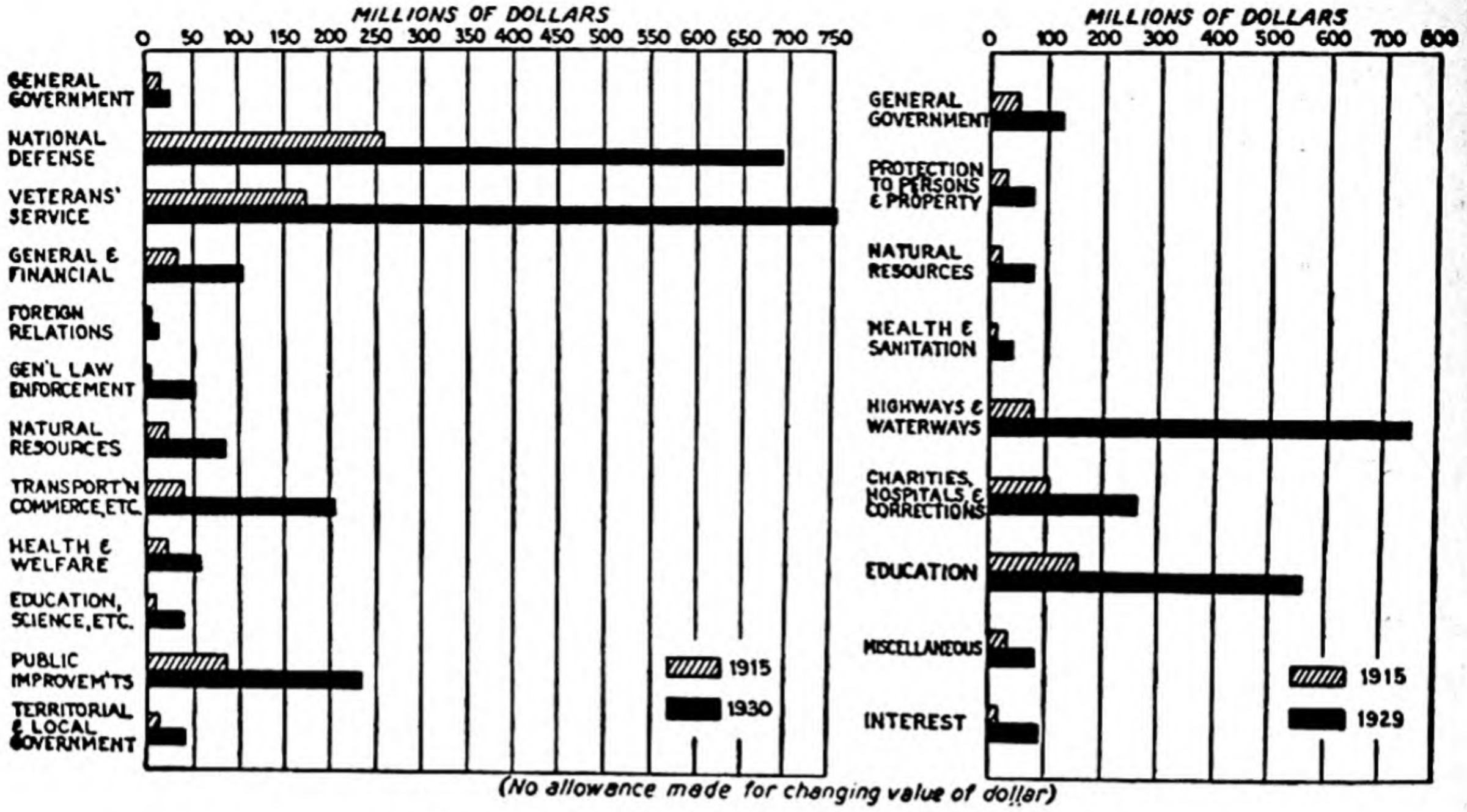


FIG. 17

RISING COST OF GOVERNMENT

The chart on the cost of the federal government illustrates very vividly both the rising costs of military expenses and the tremendous burden of the First World War. Educational expenditures and improved highways made necessary by the coming of automobiles account for much of the increase in the state expenditures.

a rough impression of the increased cost between 1913 and 1939, based on the current dollar.

The following summary statements, based upon the table, the chart, and other data, will aid in the interpretation of the current trends in our financial affairs:

1. From 1913 to 1939 total federal expenditures multiplied almost thirteen times.

2. Increases in federal expenses can be charged largely to (a) recovery and relief expenditures in the depression years, and (b) military outlays for past wars and possible future wars.

3. Federal recovery and relief expenditures for the six years from 1934 to 1939 inclusive exceeded $17,500,000,000.

4. Increases in state and local expenditures can be charged largely to the extension of education, improvements in roads and streets, welfare outlays, and protection of health.

5. From 1913 to 1938 federal, state and local taxes increased more than sixfold.

6. Although the national income barely doubled between 1913 and 1938, the part taken for taxes—federal, state and local—increased from 7.1 per cent to 21.8 per cent.

7. Tax collections of the federal, state and local governments for the business year ending June 30, 1938 were 79.6 per cent greater than for the corresponding period six years earlier.

BALANCING THE BUDGET. If the increasing cost of government was a major issue, serious also was the fact that expenditures were far ahead of income. By a unanimous vote of the members present, the Senate passed in June, 1941, an army appropriation bill of more than $10,000,000,000. This was the largest single money bill in peacetime congressional history; it was also indicative of the extent to which the American people were ready to go in building up national defense. With the passage of this bill, Congress had authorized $47,000,000,000 for national defense in one year, although the full amount would probably not be spent for several years. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, war appropriations and expenditures increased sharply. For the three years ending June 30, 1943, war appropriations totaled about $212,000,000,000. War expenditures for the same period amounted to more than $100,000,000,000. When the government's books were closed at the end of the 1943 business year, total expenditures for that year were $78,000,000,000. In the same year total government receipts were $22,000,000,000. The deficit for the year was, therefore, $56,000,000,000. With this deficit the federal public debt mounted to $128,000,000,000 on June 30, 1943. This was an increase of more than $100,000,000,000 under the Roosevelt administration to that date.

Taxes and tax collections tended to increase each year under Roosevelt, along with improved business conditions, but expenditures increased as rapidly or even more so. The question of balancing the budget remained. Balanced in the 1920's, the budget showed deficits under Hoover as a result of the depression. Under the New Deal it became increasingly unbalanced as a result of the relief and recovery programs. And, finally, with the huge expenditures for national defense, the national debt began again to mount rapidly. But so urgent was the need that, for the moment at least, the badly unbalanced budget ceased to be a matter of great controversy.

12. Electoral Reforms. The whole problem of government and reform in government is complicated by the indifference of the voter. Commonly in both state and national elections not more than 60 per cent of the qualified voters cast their ballots. In the presidential election of 1920 only one in two eligible voters went to the polls. The three out of four ratio of 1900 was not surpassed until the election of 1940 when four out of five eligibles voted—an election in which the two-term tradition and a world crisis were at issue (*4*). Why is it that the 85 per cent record

of 1876 has not been reached in the present century? Many explanations have been offered. Franchise requirements such as the poll tax or educational tests bar Negroes in the South as well as whites in the North. In many sections one party so dominates the situation that it seems useless for a member of the minority party to vote.[1] Even in sections where such conditions do not exist, there is great indifference. Either the voter is absorbed in other problems or he lacks faith that much can be done through political action.

It is only through continued vigilance and action that the electorate can secure honest and efficient government, and only by holding the career of politics in high esteem can the highest type of political leadership be obtained. Many suggestions have been made as to how government might be improved and the voter aroused to closer supervision of his elected representatives. The first two decades of the century brought the initiative, the referendum, direct election of Senators, woman suffrage and other political innovations (*VII*) but they have not proved sufficient.

Among the reforms more recently suggested are the short ballot, proportional representation and fewer elections. If the voter is presented with a ballot containing 343 names, as he was in the Chicago election of 1924, he is lucky if he knows more than one-tenth of the names, and consequently he can hardly vote intelligently. Confining elections to a few officials who would be held responsible for the appointment and conduct of their numerous subordinates might encourage the voter, and in the end secure better government. Proportional representation aims to give the minority voter greater weight in the election and greater representation. A good example of it is to be found in the revised charter of New York City adopted in 1936. The City Council, about one-third the size of the former Board of Aldermen, is now more representative of minority groups. Fewer elections would concentrate attention upon those that were held, and, would cut down the rising cost of elections.

The Hatch Political Activity Act, passed by Congress in 1939, struck at several long-standing political evils. The act prohibited campaign contributions by workers on relief and made it unlawful for non-policy-making *federal* officeholders to use their offices to influence federal elections or party nominations. A year later the same rules were applied to *state* employees paid wholly or in part from federal funds. A limitation of $3,000,000 was placed upon the amount that any political party committee could receive or spend in any one year. Finally, annual contribu-

[1] In the 1940 election in the eight so-called poll-tax states of the South only one-eighth of the total population voted, whereas three-eights of the whole country's total population voted. Illinois, voting 53.4 per cent of its population, stood first; South Carolina, with only 5.2 per cent of its population voting, ranked last.

tions greater than $5,000 were forbidden, but this provision did not apply to state or local committees or organizations.[1]

13. Propaganda and Pressure Groups. Today's citizen is the victim of "pressure groups" spreading propaganda at the cost of unknown millions of dollars. Propaganda—the special effort to control public opinion in the interests of some political, economic or social group—is not a newly discovered art or science. In our own history propaganda has taken many forms. Samuel Adams, "the father of the [American]

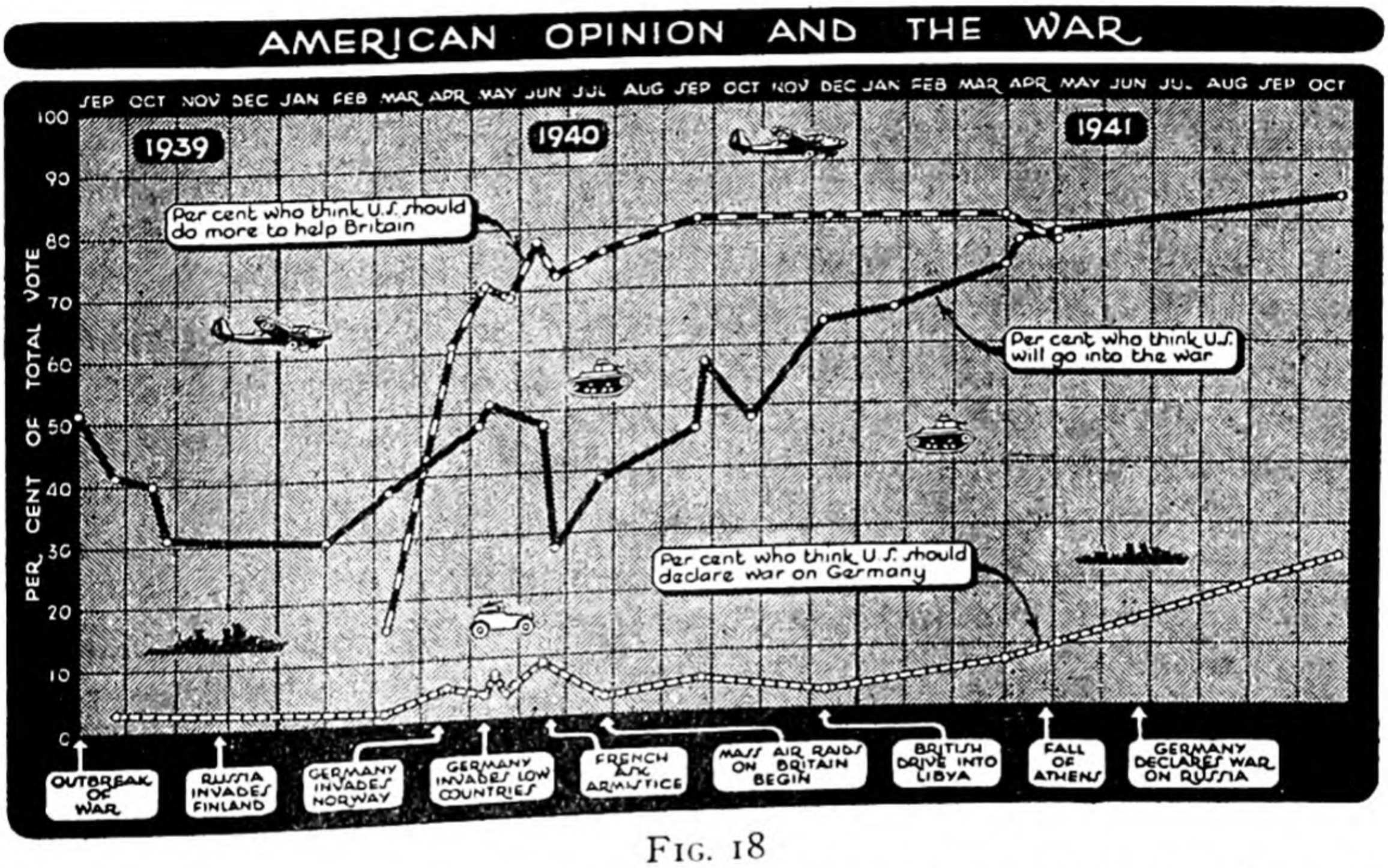

AMERICAN OPINION AND THE WAR
SEP OCT NOV DEC JAN FEB MAR APR MAY JUN JUL AUG SEP OCT NOV DEC JAN FEB MAR APR MAY JUN JUL AUG SEP OCT
1939
1940
1941
PER CENT OF TOTAL VOTE
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Per cent who think U.S. should do more to help Britain
Per cent who think U.S. will go into the war
Per cent who think U.S. should declare war on Germany
OUTBREAK OF WAR
RUSSIA INVADES FINLAND
GERMANY INVADES NORWAY
GERMANY INVADES LOW COUNTRIES
FRENCH ASK ARMISTICE
MASS AIR RAIDS ON BRITAIN BEGIN
BRITISH DRIVE INTO LIBYA
FALL OF ATHENS
GERMANY DECLARES WAR ON RUSSIA

FIG. 18

Although the war events listed at the bottom of this graph, based upon the Gallup and Princeton polls, suggest important influences on public opinion, it is reasonable to assume that the existence in this country of pressure groups and both foreign and American propagandas also affected the trends shown.

Revolution," was a master propagandist. Jefferson and Madison drew up the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions as political propaganda. Any story of political propaganda would be incomplete if it omitted our political campaigns in which the candidate of one party is "built up," through slogans and otherwise, as a savior of democracy, usually to the disadvantage of the other candidates.

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[1] The *average* of known expenditures in presidential campaigns for the major parties in three elections (1920-28) is: Republicans, $7,600,000; Democrats, $3,700,000. The total revealed expenditures for *all* parties for the 1936 campaign year approached $24,000,000. Despite the restrictions of the second Hatch act, the Senate chairman of the committee investigating campaign expenditures in 1940 estimated that total expenditures of national, state and other committees would exceed $25,000,000.

Propaganda probably came of age in this and other countries during the First World War. However, the increasing complexity of life since the Industrial Revolution greatly extended the opportunities for the use of propaganda. An excellent example of current propaganda in the economic field lies in advertising and the accompanying agencies of advertising—the newspapers, magazines and radio. The power of moving pictures to influence mass opinion needs scarcely be mentioned. "Pressure groups," organized for the purpose of influencing so-called public opinion in or out of legislative halls, exist today in every possible field of human activity. Industry has its manufacturers' associations; business and finance organize in chambers of commerce and bankers' associations; public utilities have their special organizations; labor builds up its unions; the farmers have their specially organized groups; the professions—doctors, lawyers, teachers and social workers—organize for action as does organized religion; and patriotic societies and women's clubs flourish. Each group, through lobbying and other pressures, attempts through its particular program to influence legislation and public opinion. In this list of organizations one quickly detects the existence of competing propagandas. The net result of this is to leave Mr. Average Citizen subject to that group which at the moment exercises the greatest influence upon his emotions or occasionally upon his reason.

The short-wave radio has served as a propaganda channel for Hitler, in his conduct of "psychological warfare." To bring propaganda activities into the open, the Propaganda Agency Act of 1938 required every *agent* of a foreign government or organization to register with the State Department. Included in the required information was the nature of the agent's activities and his compensation. In 1940 the Anti-Propaganda Act required every *organization*, foreign or domestic, engaged in political activity to register with the Attorney-General, giving full details. This act also applied to organizations advocating overthrow of our government by force and violence, and was aimed primarily at the Communists and Fascists. When America entered the war in December, 1941, more than 2500 Axis aliens described as "dangerous to the peace and safety of the nation" were immediately placed under arrest by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. More than 1,000,000 Axis nationals were reported to be living in the United States at the outbreak of the war.

14. Present-Day Liberalism. History has taught us that there are periods of conservatism and liberalism, of reaction and reform, just as there are periods of economic prosperity and depression. The reform administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, for example, were followed in time by the reaction of the post-war decade. This latter period ending in the economic upset of 1929 was succeeded

by the experimentation and reforming activities of Franklin Roosevelt. The decade of the 'thirties in the backward glance of history will probably be regarded as an era of change. Present-day liberalism, however, is not alone interested in the general improvement of government and in making it more responsive to popular will; it is also concerned in maintaining the constitutional rights of American citizens to freedom of speech, assembly and religion, and in preventing the growth of ideas of dictatorship. It would maintain freedom and democracy against a world movement in the opposite direction, such as Fascism.

Present-day liberalism, like that of the first decade of the century, is interested in social and economic reform as well as in political reform. In the realm of economic life, current liberalism opposes the older theory of *laissez-faire* and unregulated competition, and supports any movement which will put our economic life on a more stable basis. In the social field forward-looking men and women would raise standards of living, improve racial relationships, and achieve greater security for all. In our relations with our neighbors, liberals would promote sounder international understandings as a basis for world peace.

THE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TOUCH CLOSELY OUR EVERYDAY LIVES

15. The Rôle of the State. Limitations of time and space have made it necessary to confine this discussion chiefly to our national history. Because of this it is easy to forget the importance of state and local government in our everyday life. Writing in 1888, James Bryce pointed this out clearly:

> An American may, through a long life, never be reminded of the Federal Government except when he votes at presidential and congressional elections, buys a package of tobacco bearing the government stamp, lodges a complaint against the post office, and opens his trunks for a customhouse officer on the pier at New York when he returns from a tour in Europe. His direct taxes are paid to officials acting under State laws. The State or local authority constituted by State statutes registers his birth, appoints his guardian, pays for his schooling, gives him a share in the estate of his father deceased, licenses him when he enters a trade (if it be one needing a license), marries him, divorces him, entertains civil actions against him, declares him a bankrupt, hangs him for murder; the police that guard his house, the local boards which look after the poor, control highways, impose water rates, manage schools—all these derive legal powers from his State alone.

GROWING POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. What Bryce asserted a half-century ago is still essentially true, but not to the extent

GIRLS' GO

that it was at that time. Since the War between the States the importance of the federal government in our everyday lives has continually increased. The chief reason for this has been the coming of the machine age which has knit the nation more closely together and introduced new problems of a nation-wide character. Most of our states are artificial geographic units, set up before the Industrial Revolution, which bear but little relationship to the needs of our economic development. While the states continue to function as local governmental units, the activities of the federal government are ever widening and being imposed upon those of the states. When James Bryce wrote, there were no federal income tax, no Federal Reserve System, no Federal Land Banks, no Federal Power Commission, no Federal Communications Commission, no adequate federal railroad regulation, and, of course, none of the centralizing agencies of the New Deal.

16. The Task of the City. Although the rôle of the state has declined with the growth of the federal government, this does not mean that the problems of state government have become fewer or less complex. The activities of the state, in fact, are continually increasing, as can be seen in the widening of state control over education, in the expanding state regulation and supervision of public health, and in the establishment of state police. The same is true of the city. If our everyday life is touched in an infinite variety of ways by federal and state government, how much more is this true of municipal government. Here we are concerned with such problems of health as housing, sanitation, water supply and sewage disposal, and with such fields as local transportation, lighting, street paving, protection of property, finance and education.

We must remember how rapidly our cities have grown, how suddenly these complicated problems have developed, and how each department of city government cries aloud for scientific experts. Then we wonder, not that the cities have so often failed to achieve the best, but that they have managed to function at all. The task of the city has been made more difficult by the indifference of the average voter and by the inability of many officeholders to resist the opportunities for easy wealth made possible by interests eager to profit from the growing cities.

It would be a conservative statement to say that nine-tenths of the work of the city governments is the work of experts—engineers, sanitary health officers, teachers, financiers. City government is primarily a matter of business and science, not of politics. When in the early years of the present century the average citizen realized this, he rose in revolt and in hundreds of cities substituted for the old system some form of commission or city-manager government (Chapter VII). Although these plans for city government have undoubtedly marked an improvement,

particularly in the smaller cities, they lack the vital touch which a great political leader, like Tom Johnson in Cleveland, could give to a city government. One problem of the future, therefore, is to combine the values of the older city governments with the efficiency of a carefully functioning business concern. The problems of our cities have remained much the same through the years, but different periods emphasize different problems. Two decades ago interest centered in such schemes as commission government; in more recent years it has been concentrated on such problems as the handling of public welfare and city planning. The first of these has become acute owing to the added responsibility and increased expense resulting from large-scale unemployment. Interest in city planning came from a tardy realization that a city should not just grow up without control, but that its development should be planned far in advance. If urbanization continues, scientific planning is not only possible but in every way desirable.

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY SUMMARIZED

17. The Colonial Period. The fight for democracy has been waged against three enemies primarily. First, in the earliest period of our history the battle was against the theocracy of New England. By 1700 theocracy, or the control of political life and privileges by the church, had pretty well been routed. Property holders and taxpayers now took the old leadership away from the church fathers. From the Mayflower Compact and New England Confederation to the Stamp Act Congress and Continental Congresses, the American custom of voluntary, democratic association for a common purpose had been growing. Out of Virginia's House of Burgesses and Plymouth's town meeting had developed a series of "little parliaments" that were schools of self-government for the new Americans in the wilderness.

Mindful of Europe's disregard of freedom of conscience, the colonists battled courageously against intolerance in religion. Before the colonies were 75 years old, religious freedom—or at least toleration—had won world-renowned victories in Rhode Island, Maryland and Pennsylvania. Dedicating herself to democracy in religion, America gave thought to democracy in education—so necessary to political democracy. The famous little "red school-house" of a later period found its beginnings in the great Massachusetts school law of 1647. Slow to grow, it, nevertheless, was the seed of public education.

Colonial independence of thought and action brought on in due time the Revolution with the mother country. American democracy received a supreme test. Against sizable odds, colonial valor conquered a narrow-

minded, British, imperialistic policy and won its independence. But it almost lost its new-born freedom in petty interstate quarrels. Under the Articles of Confederation the infant nation passed through the Valley of Democracy during the "Critical Period," barely clinging to the spark of life. The "league of friendship" was hopelessly weak, even though it was the strongest central government then known to democracy. But out of this brief nightmare of national uncertainty came valuable experience in centralized government on a democratic scale, as well as the great democratic policy of colonial self-government as written into the famous Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

18. **American Nationalism.** In the summer of 1787 the magic of wisdom pumped the lifeblood of power and respectability into the weakened arteries of a prostrate government. The "Fathers" gave to the country a federal Constitution so ably conceived, so nicely balanced and so wisely phrased, that it has endured these 150 years with comparatively few changes. It was based upon a division of powers between the federal and state governments, upon a separation of powers between executive, legislative and judicial departments, and upon the power of the Supreme Court to give final interpretation to the instrument. Such in brief was the document that has furnished the political basis of the country's expansion—a development without parallel in the history of democracy.

But the Constitution was designed in an atmosphere unfriendly to democracy. Under it, federal officials, with one exception, were not subject to popular choice. Only Representatives were directly elected, and under the then existing state laws less than 6 per cent of the citizens were eligible to vote.

The tremendous task of translating the Constitution's phrases into a real centralized government fell to President Washington, aided by Jefferson and Hamilton. Differences in interpretation followed, forcing Jefferson to withdraw. Under Hamilton's able leadership, the Federalist party, pledged to a liberal interpretation of the Constitution, to a strong central government, and to a commercial-industrial leadership, guided the young republic for its first 12 years. Under Federalist rule, orderly government had been established on a sound financial basis and had been pledged to a basic foreign policy of neutrality. To keep the Ship of State on an even Federalist keel, John Marshall, the great bulwark of strong centralized government, became Chief Justice, to serve for 34 years (1801-35).

Then came the Jeffersonian Republicans (or Democrats) (1801-25), with an idealism of government of the people and for the people, with theories of strict construction of the Constitution, state's rights, freedom

for the individual, and sympathy for the farmer. The current of the times forced the Jeffersonians temporarily to discard many of their theories as they approximately doubled the country's area in the Louisiana Purchase and fought a nationalizing war (1812-15). During this period also they accepted the Hamiltonian Bank and protective tariff, compromised slavery on a national scale, and adopted the nationalistic Monroe Doctrine.

But Democracy, as we know it today, was to begin with Jacksonian Democracy (1829-41). "Old Hickory" believed in the worth of the common man, in government *by* the people as well as of and for the people. He believed in, and in large measure was the force which produced, manhood suffrage, regardless of religion, property or tax-paying. Under Jackson, democracy made unparalleled progress as the common man became a voter. Jackson battled for greater democracy in the form of the spoils system, rotation in office and presidential nominations by popular conventions. An old soldier, he fought greed and monopoly in the form of the Bank, stunned South Carolina by his dramatic support of the Union against state's rights, and exercised a presidential leadership new to politics.

Democracy, now a national force faced its second great enemy, the slaveholding aristocracy. Following a wave of territorial expansion, the southern slave states, challenged by the election of Lincoln, a "Black Republican," seceded. The War between the States resulted in a triumphant nationalism, with secession dead as a political possibility under the Constitution. With the Democrats divided and southern democracy crippled by the harsh reconstruction measures, the Republican party rode into power but not without creating a "Solid South."

19. Democracy and Big Business. During the past 50 years the political struggle has been between the Republicans and Democrats, with the giant, Big Business, the third enemy at the gates of democracy. Against political corruption, civil service reform waged its battle. Revolt against conservatism and professional politics placed Cleveland, a reform Democrat, in office after a quarter-century of Republicanism (1861-85). But the combined effort of Populism and radical Democracy could not prevent the return of Republicanism and high tariffs. The partially successful struggle of democracy against the "special interests" was brought into bold relief under Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson, but was soon to swing back sharply in the search for "normalcy" under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. The battle for more democracy was resumed in 1933 when Franklin D. Roosevelt became President. Under the "New Deal," Congress passed a series of economic and social measures intended to provide greater security for more of our people.

The efforts of third parties to clarify the political atmosphere beclouded by similarity of issues between the major parties, have thus far borne no lasting fruit. Meanwhile, the "New Democracy" was to strike boldly at the political machine in the states and cities by championing "direct government" in the form of the direct primary, the initiative, referendum and recall, and commission and city-manager forms of city government. During this period democracy did not overlook the Constitution. In Amendment XVII it insisted upon electing its Senators directly. It doubled the number of voters and raised the possible voting strength to about 50 per cent of our total population by adding the Woman Suffrage Amendment. As a recent triumph of democracy, women citizens have gained voting equality.

As democracy contemplates its victories, it realizes that the battle is far from won. The special interests still wield tremendous power and the search for social justice—especially a more just distribution of wealth—seems only started. A reasonable amount of security for the average citizen seems difficult to attain without a more careful coördination of our means of production and distribution. Finally, democracy is dismayed to learn that after 150 years' battle only one in two voters exercises his sovereign democratic power.

Nor has democracy learned too well the truth that it succeeds or fails in direct relation to an enlightened public opinion and the ability of its leadership. Moreover, it should remember well the great ideal of modern civilization found in the preamble of the Constitution, unaltered since it was first written. Then, as now, that ideal is the beacon light of progressive democracy. "We the People of the United States," reads the preamble, "in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America [1]." The general welfare, the central and controlling idea, is flanked by the noble conceptions of justice and liberty. These were the ideals of the "Fathers"; these are the ideals democracy seeks to translate into human values.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items. There may be items that cannot be matched. There may be others that can be matched with more than one choice.

CHOICES		ITEMS
1. Reëlection by a considerable vote	a. ( )	National debt
2. Provides essential services such as light or transportation	b. ( )	Reciprocal trade agreements
3. Regionalism	c. ( )	Popular mandate
4. Unofficial preëlection sample balloting	d. ( )	New Deal
5. For each person	e. ( )	Pressure groups
6. Total personal indebtedness of each citizen	f. ( )	Lobbying
7. Special interests	g. ( )	Public utility company
8. Gives greater flexibility to our tariff	h. ( )	Propaganda
9. Summarized Franklin D. Roosevelt's political ideals	i. ( )	Per capita
10. Total indebtedness of the government	j. ( )	Straw vote

Do You Know The Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. The greatest depression in our history began during the term of office of President: (a) Coolidge; (b) Hoover; (c) Franklin D. Roosevelt.
2. The platform of the major parties in the presidential campaign of 1932: (a) differed widely on many points; (b) differed concerning unemployment and agricultural relief; (c) differed only on the question of the Prohibition Amendment.
3. Herbert Hoover was defeated in the presidential election of 1932 because: (a) the country was in the depths of a terrible economic depression for which many voters blamed the Republicans; (b) his proposals for relief failed to check unemployment; (c) Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed a series of specific measures that would restore prosperity.
4. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first term of office was marked by: (a) extension of government control over business, industry and agriculture; (b) the submission of Congress to his leadership; (c) increased control of government by big business interests.
5. In general, New Deal measures were intended to: (a) provide relief for the unemployed; (b) bring on recovery of prosperity by aiding agriculture and industry; (c) further economic, political and social reforms.
6. The reëlection of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936 and again in 1940 may be regarded as a popular mandate because: (a) in both campaigns the major party platforms differed but little; (b) his reëlec-

tion in 1936 was a landslide; (c) to reëlect him in 1940 the voters disregarded the two-term tradition.

7. During the terms of office of President Franklin D. Roosevelt: (a) the Supreme Court has declared nearly all New Deal measures unconstitutional; (b) the Supreme Court has upheld more than half of the major New Deal measures; (c) many new Justices have been appointed to replace those who have retired.
8. The cost of local, state and national governments has risen largely because: (a) the machine age has placed added responsibilities upon these governments; (b) there is much more graft in politics than there used to be; (c) a lot of unnecessary agencies have been added.
9. In more recent years the functions of state government: (a) have been increased; (b) have been decreased; (c) are being supplemented by extension of federal partnership in many state and local governmental matters.
10. The Hatch Political Activity Acts of 1939 and 1940 proposed to: (a) cut down the amounts of money political parties spend for campaign purposes; (b) require all voters to vote in each election; (c) take politics out of the federal civil service.
11. Special interests or pressure groups that by lobbying and other devices attempt to influence law-making: (a) represent only big business; (b) have been forced out of the political scene by the enactment of anti-special interest legislation; (c) represent almost every field of human activity.

C. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items. There may be items that cannot be matched. There may be others that can be matched with more than one choice.

CHOICES	ITEMS
1. Leader of the Socialist party	a. ( ) John W. Davis
2. Republican presidential candidate in 1936	b. ( ) Frank Knox
3. "Old Guard" Democrat opposed to New Deal	c. ( ) Henry A. Wallace
4. Speaker of the House in the 1930's	d. ( ) Norman Thomas
5. Former Chief Justice	e. ( ) Elihu Root
6. Republican appointed Secretary of the Navy by President F. D. Roosevelt	f. ( ) Alfred M. Landon
7. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court	g. ( ) Henry L. Stimson
8. Republican presidential candidate in 1940	h. ( ) Alfred E. Smith

CHOICES	ITEMS
9. Republican appointed Secretary of War by President F. D. Roosevelt	i. ( ) Charles E. Hughes
10. Elected Vice President in 1940	j. ( ) Wendell L. Willkie
	k. ( ) John L. Lewis
	l. ( ) Harlan F. Stone

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

D. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *If there is not sufficient evidence in the chapter to explain why the statement is an opinion, circle the letters* **NI**.

1. **T F O NI** Wendell Willkie was defeated by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the election of 1940 because Willkie was too closely tied up with big business interests.
2. **T F O NI** During the 1930's the majority of the American people seemed to favor the New Deal.
3. **T F O NI** New Dealers intended to replace democracy by socialism.
4. **T F O NI** The defeat of Hoover in 1932 by Franklin D. Roosevelt was interpreted as a pro-Roosevelt surge rather than an anti-Hoover movement.
5. **T F O NI** President Hoover made no effort to check the onward march of depression between 1929 and 1932.
6. **T F O NI** The New Deal was able to muster so many votes in 1936 and 1940 because New Dealers used relief funds to buy votes.
7. **T F O NI** New Dealers went too far in attempting to control American agriculture and industry.
8. **T F O NI** The Constitution, according to high authority, is "what the judges say it is."
9. **T F O NI** The Supreme Court's power to annul Acts of Congress should be limited by an amendment to the Constitution.
10. **T F O NI** The Supreme Court today is a more liberal body than it was during the 1920's.
11. **T F O NI** Many people believed that President Franklin D. Roosevelt's proposal to reorganize the federal courts was to enable him to appoint New Deal-minded justices to the Supreme Court.
12. **T F O NI** One of the lessons of history is that reform movements and reactionary or conservative movements come in cycles.

Summarizing Exercise

E. Below are a number of statements. Underscore those which, taken together, should serve as a paragraph to summarize the major points discussed in this chapter.

1. The Great Depression began in the late 1920's.
2. The Socialist standard-bearer, Norman Thomas, polled a comparatively small vote in 1932.
3. President Franklin D. Roosevelt called a special session of Congress as soon as he took office in 1932.
4. Congress, led by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, put through a series of measures designed to provide relief for the unemployed and for economic, social and political reforms.
5. The New Deal program was endorsed by the American people when President Franklin D. Roosevelt was reëlected in 1936 and again in 1940.
6. Conservative forces charged that the New Deal was endangering the nation, attempting to "socialize" private enterprise.
7. The power of the Supreme Court should be checked.
8. Many people feel that government functions have been unduly expanded.
9. The problems of the machine age have brought about great expansion in the functions of local, state and federal governments together with a closer coöperation between these three areas of government.
10. Special interests have by no means abandoned their efforts to dominate law-making.
11. The liberal movements of the 1930's may give place to a conservative trend after the close of the Second World War.
12. The national debt has mounted rapidly.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Mention three New Deal measures that were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Name two New Deal laws that were upheld by the Supreme Court. Give an argument for and an argument against the proposal to reorganize the Supreme Court.
2. Describe the major issues at stake in the presidential campaign of 1940. Give two reasons to account for the defeat of Wendell L. Willkie.
3. Account for the growth of control exercised and services provided by local, state and federal governments since the First World War. What criticisms and suggestions have you to offer concerning: (a) taxation; (b) bureaucracy?

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

General treatments of the 1930's are: J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps. xlv, xlvi; and H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xl, xli. More detailed treatment of the 1930's may be found in: F. L. Allen, *Since Yesterday*; C. A. and M. R. Beard, *America in Midpassage*. For discussion of government machinery see "Suggested Readings" for Chapter VII of this book.

For biographies and historical novels consult "Suggested Readings" for Chapter VII of this book.

Full Course Review and Self-Check

Do You Understand the Sequence of Events?

A. Indicate the chronological order of the events mentioned within each of the following groups by placing the letters a, b, c in the appropriate parentheses.

1. ( ) Compromise of 1850
   ( ) The Mexican War
   ( ) Kansas-Nebraska Act
3. ( ) Secession of the Confederate States
   ( ) Election of Lincoln
   ( ) First battle of Bull Run
5. ( ) End of the War between the States
   ( ) Emancipation Proclamation
   ( ) Amendment XIII ratified
7. ( ) Widespread corruption in politics
   ( ) Pendleton Act passed
   ( ) Civil service reform demanded
9. ( ) Republican party came into power
   ( ) The War between the States
   ( ) Big business tended to dominate politics

2. ( ) Lincoln nominated for President
   ( ) Lincoln-Douglas Debates
   ( ) Dred Scott decision
4. ( ) Union blockade established
   ( ) Mississippi River opened by federal forces
   ( ) Grant headed federal troops in the East
6. ( ) Congressional reconstruction ruled
   ( ) Establishment of the "Solid South"
   ( ) Lincoln assassinated
8. ( ) McKinley-Bryan presidential campaign of 1896
   ( ) Populist party formed
   ( ) Granger movement began
10. ( ) The New Freedom
    ( ) The Square Deal
    ( ) The New Deal

Do You Know These Principal Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. Andrew Johnson was impeached by Congress because he: (a) insisted on a reconstruction program that would hurt rather than help the South; (b) was responsible for graft among his cabinet members; (c) tried to check the reconstruction policy favored by Congress.
2. The Kansas-Nebraska Act: (a) expressly forbade any further extension of slavery; (b) stated that the voters in these territories should decide for themselves whether or not slavery should be permitted in these areas; (c) aroused a storm of protest among people in the North opposed to any further extension of slavery.
3. The Compromise of 1850 was concerned with the status of slavery in the: (a) Louisiana Territory; (b) territory acquired from Mexico; (c) new state of Florida.
4. The Republican party in the days before the War between the States was: (a) for abolition of slavery; (b) against any further extension of slavery; (c) in favor of the Dred Scott Decision.
5. The Emancipation Proclamation: (a) freed all slaves; (b) declared that slaves owned by Confederates were free; (c) was superseded by Amendment XIII that abolished slavery.
6. The elections of Presidents Lincoln in 1860 and Wilson in 1912 were somewhat alike because: (a) each won by a wide popular majority; (b) the opposite party was divided; (c) the election was decided by the Electoral Commission.
7. According to the Dred Scott decision: (a) Congress could not regulate slavery in the territories; (b) popular sovereignty was unconstitutional; (c) the Freeport Doctrine was illegal.
8. Congress promoted its reconstruction policy by means of: (a) military occupation of the southern states; (b) "black codes"; (c) the clauses of Amendment XIV that prevented many southern whites from voting or holding office.
9. Between 1860 and 1913 our national politics was marked by: (a) the continued dominance of the Democratic party; (b) consistent demand for reform; (c) continued sway of the Republican party.
10. In general, third party movements since about 1870 have stood for: (a) state's rights; (b) control of monopolies, elimination of political graft, and agricultural aid; (c) elimination of the political power of special interests.
11. Most students of military history would agree that the greatest general in the War between the States was: (a) U. S. Grant; (b) R. E. Lee; (c) W. T. Sherman.
12. More direct democracy has been obtained: (a) by "invisible government"; (b) through use of initiative, referendum and recall; (c) by passage of the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Amendments.
13. The terms of office of President Theodore Roosevelt were marked by: (a) development of a national conservation policy; (b) a decline in so-called "liberal" legislation; (c) an attack on monopolies.

14. The Woman Suffrage Amendment was added to the Constitution about: (a) 1880; (b) 1900; (c) 1920.
15. During the 1930's federal legislation; (a) was generally liberal; (b) was conservative in character; (c) set in motion many social and economic reforms.

C. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. The turning point in the eastern phase of the War between the States was the battle of: (a) Vicksburg; (b) Gettysburg; (c) Fredericksburg.
2. The congressional program of reconstruction was resisted by: (a) carpetbaggers; (b) the Ku Klux Klan; (c) scalawags.
3. Examples of graft and corruption in politics were the: (a) Whiskey Ring; (b) Crédit Mobilier; (c) Tweed Ring; (d) merit system.
4. Among American Presidents who fought for reforms were: (a) U. S. Grant; (b) Grover Cleveland; (c) William McKinley; (d) Woodrow Wilson.
5. Leaders in the reform movements of the latter 1800's were: (a) William Jennings Bryan; (b) Thomas A. Jenckes; (c) James G. Blaine; (d) Susan B. Anthony.
6. The movement to introduce more direct democracy was promoted by the: (a) Oregon System; (b) Australian ballot; (c) caucus system; (d) direct primary.
7. Leaders of third party movements between 1860 and 1940 were: (a) Chester A. Arthur; (b) Theodore Roosevelt; (c) Robert M. La Follette; (d) Norman Thomas.
8. Between 1860 and 1920 the only Presidents elected by the Democratic party were: (a) Rutherford B. Hayes; (b) Grover Cleveland; (c) Woodrow Wilson; (d) Warren G. Harding.
9. President F. D. Roosevelt appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court: (a) Charles E. Hughes; (b) Roger B. Taney; (c) Harlan F. Stone.

What Ideas Have You About the Development of American Democracy?

D. Some of the following statements are true, some are false, others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**; *if it is false, circle the letter* **F**. *Circle the letter* **O** *if it is an opinion.*

1. T F O In general, third party movements are liberal movements.
2. T F O The Republican party was formed partly out of a number of minority groups.
3. T F O The decisions of the Supreme Court sometimes conflict with popular opinion.
4. T F O The Supreme Court exercises too great power over congressional legislation.

5. **T F O** The abolition movement was popularly supported from its beginning.
6. **T F O** Southerners were justified in resorting to illegal means of counteracting congressional reconstruction methods.
7. **T F O** The abolition of slavery created difficult economic, social and political problems.
8. **T F O** Party politics played no part in the reconstruction program developed by Congress.
9. **T F O** Until recently southern states consistently have voted for candidates of the Democratic party.
10. **T F O** After the War between the States and again after the First World War there was corruption in national politics.
11. **T F O** The Spoils System has been eliminated from the American political scene.
12. **T F O** Considerable progress has been made in establishing the Merit System in our local, state and national politics.
13. **T F O** One of America's major problems today is the race problem.
14. **T F O** Minority parties have not influenced American politics.
15. **T F O** Many American business men, at the turn of the century, approved our expansion into the Carribbean Sea area and the Pacific.
16. **T F O** American business interests were largely responsible for the development of our imperialistic policy at the turn of the century.
17. **T F O** Over the years the Republican party has been more often supported by big business interests than has the Democratic party.
18. **T F O** The Republican party has been dominated by big business.
19. **T F O** There is ground for anticipating that a wave of conservatism followed by a wave of liberalism will come soon after the Second World War because such waves followed the War between the States and the First World War.
20. **T F O** Since Andrew Jackson's time there has been a tendency toward more and wider legislation of a liberal kind in the United States.
21. **T F O** The liberal tendencies of the past ten years have tended to weaken the principles of democracy.
22. **T F O** A person who casts his vote for a third party candidate is throwing his vote away.
23. **T F O** Over the years since colonial days democracy has struggled against religious and racial intolerance, and special interests that have strived to control our political life.
24. **T F O** Every American who has the right to vote should exercise that right.

25. T F O During the past 80 years the right to vote has been extended to a greater number of citizens and much progress toward more direct democracy has been made.

Have you applied for your End-of-Course Test? See "How To Use This Book," p. vii.

Have you completed your Course Essay? See "How To Use This Book," p. vi.

APPENDIX I

The Constitution of the United States of America[1]

The Preamble[2]

1. We, the People, Voting by States, Establish the Union. We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE. I. THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. The Congress

2. A Congress of Two Houses Has Legislative Power. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives

3. The People Elect Their Representatives. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors[3] of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

4. Who May Be Representatives? 2. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

5. Representation in the House Is Based on Population. 3. Representatives and direct Taxes[4] shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, [*which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term*

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[1] The printing of the Constitution as issued by the Department of State is here followed, except for the headings in heavy-faced type, the insertion of brackets and the use of italics.

[2] The preamble is merely an introduction. It states the general purposes in the minds of the framers of the document, but grants no powers. Its clauses, however, have been used to read meanings into clauses in the body of the Constitution.

[3] "Electors" here means voters.

[4] The income tax, as a form of direct tax, may now be levied under the provisions of the Sixteenth Amendment [107].

of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.[5]][6] The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand,[7] but each State shall have at Least one Representative; [*and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgie three.*]

6. Vacancies in the House Are Filled by Election. 4. When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

7. The House Selects its Speaker and Has Sole Power to Impeach. 5. The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate

8. Representation in the Senate Is Based on the States. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, [*chosen by the Legislature thereof,*][8] for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

9. One-third of the Senators Are Chosen Every Two Years. 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. [*The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year,*][9] so that one third may be chosen every second Year; [*and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.*][10]

10. Who May Be Senators? 3. No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

11. The Vice President Presides over the Senate. 4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

12. The Senate Chooses its Other Officers. 5. The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

13. The Senate Has Sole Power to Try Impeachments. 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all Impeachments.[11] When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief

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[5] "Persons" here refers to slaves. The word "slave" does not appear in the Constitution, although the word "slavery" is found in the Thirteenth Amendment. The famous three-fifths compromise has been superseded by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments [98 and 101]. Citizenship has now been granted to the Indians.

[6] Brackets with the italics indicate parts no longer in effect.

[7] Under the 1930 census there was one representative for about every 280,000 persons; under the census of 1940, one for about every 300,000. Congress failed to reapportion representation on the basis of the census of 1920.

[8] Superseded by the Seventeenth Amendment [108].

[9] A temporary provision.

[10] Changed by the Seventeenth Amendment. [109].

[11] Thirteen impeachments have been brought by the House, with four convictions by the Senate. The persons convicted and removed from office were judges.

Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

14. Conviction May Result in Removal from and Disqualification for Office. *7.* Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. Election and Meetings of Congress

15. The State Legislatures and Congress Determine Conditions of Elections. 1. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

16. Congress Must Meet Once a Year. *2.* [*The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.*][12]

Section 5. Organization and Rules of the Houses

17. Each House Has Power to Reject Members. 1. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

18. Each House Makes its Own Rules. *2.* Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

19. Each House Must Keep and Publish a Record of its Proceedings. *3.* Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

20. Both Houses Must Agree Regarding Adjournment. *4.* Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. Privileges of and Prohibitions upon Congressmen

21. Congressmen Receive a Salary from the United States and Are Entitled to Certain Privileges.[13] 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

22. A Congressman Must not Hold any Other Federal Civil Office. *2.* No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

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[12] Changed to January third by Twentieth Amendment [117].

[13] Popularly the term "Congressman" means a member of the lower House, but properly it means either a Senator or Representative.

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Section 7. Method of Passing Laws

23. Revenue Bills Must Originate in the House.[14] 1. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

24. The President May Veto Congressional Bills, but Congress by a Two-thirds Vote Can Override the Veto. 2. Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

25. The President's Qualified Veto Extends to All Congressional Measures.[15] 3. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Enumerated Powers of Congress[16]

26. Congress Has Power to Lay and Collect Taxes. 1. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

27. Congress May Borrow Money. 2. To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

28. Congress Regulates Foreign and Interstate Commerce. 3. To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

29. Congress Legislates Concerning Naturalization and Bankruptcies.[17] 4. To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

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[14] A revenue bill is any bill designed primarily to raise money for governmental purposes. In practice, appropriation or money-spending bills tend to originate in the House, although there is no such constitutional requirement. In the case of either bill, the Senate can amend as it desires. In effect, then, the financial powers of the two Houses are equal.

[15] Proposals of amendment to the Constitution and concurrent resolutions—congressional expressions of opinion—do not require presidential approval.

[16] Additional powers of Congress are granted in Amendments XIII-XVI [98-107] and XIX-XXI [114-24].

[17] Bankruptcy is a legal process enabling an individual unable to pay his debts in full to divide his property proportionately among his creditors, thus releasing him from further legal obligation for the debts in question. State legislation regulated bankruptcy procedure until Congress legislated in 1898, thus establishing "uniform" but not exclusive regulation.

30. Congress May Provide for Coining Money. 5. To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

31. Congress Has Power to Punish Counterfeiting. 6. To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

32. Congress May Establish a Postal Service. 7. To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

33. Congress May Grant Copyright and Patent Privileges.[18] 8. To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

34. Congress May Establish Inferior Courts. 9. To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

35. Congress May Punish Crimes Committed on the High Seas.[19] 10. To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

36. Congress Has Power to Declare War. 11. To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal,[20] and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

37. Congress Raises and Controls Size of the Army. 12. To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

38. Congress Provides for and Controls Size of the Navy. 13. To provide and maintain a Navy;

39. Congress Makes Rules for Regulation of the Army and Navy. 14. To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

40. Congress May Call Out the State Militia. 15. To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel Invasions;

41. Congress and the States Control the State Militia. 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

42. Congress Has Sole Power over the District of Columbia. 17. To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

43. In Addition, Congress Has "Implied Powers," Resulting from the Elastic Clause. 18. To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

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[18] A copyright protects the exclusive rights of publication and sale of a writer, artist, musician, photographer and similar producers for a period of 28 years, with the right of renewal for a like term. A patent grants an inventor protection on the profits of his invention for a period of 17 years. Patent renewals are rare and only by special act of Congress.

[19] "High seas" are the ocean waters beyond the three-mile limit, beyond which no country has exclusive rights. Piracy, or robbery at sea, was more or less common in the eighteenth century. Felonies are serious crimes punishable by death or imprisonment. The law of nations is international law and usually involves neutrality rights.

[20] Letters of marque and reprisal are governmental commissions to privateers or privately owned and operated ships to make war on the ships of the enemy. No commissions were issued for the War between the States or later wars.

Section 9. Powers Denied to the United States[21]

44. Congress Must not Limit Immigration before 1808. 1. [*The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.*][22]

45. Congress Must not Suspend the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* Except During Rebellion or Invasion. 2. The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus[23] shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

46. Congress Must not Pass Bills of Attainder or *Ex Post Facto* Laws.[24] 3. No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

47. Congress Must not Levy Direct Taxes Unless in Proportion to Population. 4. No Capitation, or other direct,[25] Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

48. Congress Must not Levy Export Taxes. 5. No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

49. Congress in its Regulations Must not Favor One Port over Another. 6. No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

50. Congress Controls All Expenditures. 7. No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

51. Congress Cannot Grant Titles of Nobility. 8. No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. Powers Denied to the States[26]

52. The States Are Denied Certain Important Powers. 1. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit;[27] make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligations of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

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[21] Other restrictions on the United States will be found in Amendments I-X [86-95].

[22] A temporary clause referring to the importation of slaves—a subject for compromise in the Constitutional Convention.

[23] A writ of *habeas corpus* is a court order demanding that the person being detained (in prison, asylum, or elsewhere) be delivered over to the court, which will determine whether the person is being legally or properly detained.

[24] A bill of attainder is a legislative act which inflicts punishment without judicial trial. An *ex post facto* law is legislation which makes criminal an act which was not contrary to law when committed, or which in any way works to the disadvantage of the person accused of a crime committed before the law was passed.

[25] A poll tax and a tax on land are the only forms of direct taxes. Since incomes may come from the ownership of land, the Sixteenth Amendment was necessary in order to levy an income tax [107].

[26] Additional restrictions upon the States will be found in Amendments XIII-XV [98-106], and XIX [114-15].

[27] Bills of credit are paper money.

53. The States Must not Levy Import or Export Duties. 2. No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

54. The States Must Limit their Military Activity. 3. No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage,[28] keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE. II. THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE PRESIDENT

55. The President Is the Chief Executive Official. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

56. The President Is Elected Indirectly by State Electors. 2. Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

57. The President Is Elected by a Majority of the Electoral Votes. 3. [*The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.*][29]

58. Congress Sets the Time for Election and the Meeting of the "Electoral College."[30] 4. The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the

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[28] Tonnage duties are placed upon vessels in proportion to their capacity. This prohibition therefore prevents an indirect means of levying import and export duties.

[29] Entirely superseded by the Twelfth Amendment [97].

[30] Presidential electors are chosen on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of each "leap year." The electors, consisting today of that group of party electors receiving a plurality of the state's popular votes, meet in their respective state capitals on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December and cast their ballots for President and Vice President. On the sixth day of January, the votes of the Electoral College are counted in Congress and the election officially declared, though the results were known to the country in November. The above days for the casting and counting of electoral votes are the dates set by Congress as required by Amendment XX [116].

Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

59. Who May Be President? 5. No person except a natural born Citizen, [*or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution,*][31] shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

60. Vacancy in the Presidency Is Filled by the Vice President. 6. In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.[32]

61. The President's Salary Cannot Be Changed During his Term.[33] 7. The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

62. The President Is Required to Take an Oath of Office. 8. Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The Powers and Duties of the President

63. The President Is the Highest Military Officer; He Can Also Check the Federal Judiciary. 1. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the Executive Departments,[34] upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons[35] for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

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[31] This clause is of historical significance only. It was inserted so that foreign-born citizens (such as Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, Robert Morris and William Paterson) of able leadership should not be excluded.

[32] The Presidential Succession Act (1886) provides that heads of executive departments (cabinet members) succeed the Vice President in order of the creation of their departments, beginning with the Secretary of State and ending with the Secretary of the Interior.

[33] The President's annual salary has been increased, effective with the next term of office, from $25,000 in 1789 to $50,000 in 1873. The present salary, set by Congress in 1909, is $75,000, with a travel allowance of $25,000. Additional appropriations cover certain White House maintenance expenses.

[34] In practice President Washington began to *meet* with the executive heads, thus giving rise to a cabinet. But, it will be noted, there is no constitutional provision for a cabinet. Indeed, the cabinet was not recognized by law until more than 100 years after its creation.

[35] A pardon is freedom from a penalty imposed by the courts. A reprieve is partial relief from or postponement of a sentence. A general pardon, granted to a group, is an amnesty. By proclamation in 1865 President Johnson granted pardon to all Southerners, except the leaders, who had fought in the Confederate cause in the War between the States.

64. The President's Power to Make Treaties and Appointments Is Subject to the Senate's Approval.[36] 2. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

65. The President May Make Recess Appointments.[37] 3. The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. The Duties of the President

66. The President May Exercise Legislative Influence. 1. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union,[38] and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. Impeachment

67. The President May Be Impeached. 1. The President, Vice President and all Civil Officers of the United States,[39] shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.[40]

ARTICLE. III. THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Section 1. The Federal Courts

68. Only the Supreme Court Is Established by the Constitution. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour,

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[36] Ratification of treaties requires a two-thirds vote of the Senators *present*, although war may be declared by a majority vote of Congress. Confirmation of appointments requires a simple majority vote in the Senate. This power of the Senate over appointments has given rise to a practice known as "senatorial courtesy."

[37] Occasionally a President will resort to recess appointment when the Senate withholds confirmation of a nominee particularly desired by the President.

[38] The Presidential Message was delivered in person by Washington and Adams, but Jefferson preferred written messages. Jefferson's successors continued his practice until Wilson again appeared before Congress to read his messages.

[39] "All Civil Officers" means all federal executive and judicial appointees, such as cabinet members, ambassadors, judges, and postmasters. Military and naval officials are not subject to impeachment, nor are members of Congress. Members of Congress are official representatives of their respective states, not civil officers of the United States. But Congress may expel its own members for misconduct [18], and military and naval officials are subject to court-martial.

[40] Treason is defined by the Constitution [72]. The phrase, "high crimes and misdemeanors," has been interpreted to mean serious misconduct in office.

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and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The Jurisdiction of the Courts

69. The Federal Judiciary Is Supreme. 1. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity,[41] arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;[42]—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;[43]—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

70. The Supreme Court Has Original Jurisdiction in Two Classes of Cases; Appellate in All Others.[44] 2. In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

71. Trial Is by Jury in Federal Criminal Cases. 3. The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason and Its Punishment

72. Treason Against the United States Is Defined. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

73. The Power of Congress to Punish Treason Is Limited. 2. The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE. IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES

Section 1. Public Acts

74. A State Must Recognize the Public Acts and Records of Other States. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and

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[41] Equity, applying to certain kinds of civil cases only, developed out of need for relief from the deficiencies of ordinary law. Cases in law follow after the alleged violation of the law; cases in equity attempt "preventive justice," that is, seek to prevent an injustice being done. To prevent a wrong being done, the court will issue an order, called an *injunction*, restraining freedom of action. A judge may order a public official (or a corporation or individual) to do or refrain from doing (as is usually the case) a certain action.

[42] Admiralty and maritime law deals with controversies arising out of the use of the high seas.

[43] This clause has been modified by the Eleventh Amendment [96].

[44] "Original jurisdiction" is the right to hear and determine a case in its first appearance in court; "appellate jurisdiction" is the right to hear a case appealed from a lower court.

judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. Rights of Citizens of One State in Another State

75. Citizenship in One State Implies Privileges and Immunities in Another State. 1. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

76. Fugitives from Justice Must Be Returned to the State from Which They Fled. 2. A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony,[45] or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

77. Fugitive Slaves Must Likewise Be Returned. 3. [*No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.*][46]

Section 3. New States and Territories

78. Congress Admits New States. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.[47]

79. Congress Has Full Control over the Territories. 2. The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. Protection of the States by the United States

80. The United States Guarantees each State a Republican Government and Protection against Invasion. 1. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government,[48] and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

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[45] Crimes punishable by death or imprisonment are usually classified as felonies.

[46] It was under this clause that the Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850 were passed. So far as "person" here means slave, the clause is superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment [98].

[47] The creation of West Virginia and its admission to the Union in 1863 under the abnormal conditions of the War between the States were without the consent of the parent State of Virginia. Other instances of the division of a state were the separation of Maine from Massachusetts in 1820, Vermont from New York, 1791, and Kentucky from Virginia, 1792; in each case separation was with the consent of the state being reduced in area.

[48] Republican form of government is not defined by the Constitution, but by implication is the representative form of government in existence in the states when the Constitution was framed.

ARTICLE. V. THE PROCESS OF AMENDMENT

81. The Constitution May Be Amended in Any One of Four Ways. 1. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided [*that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and*][49] that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE. VI. THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND

82. The Federal Government Assumes the Debt of the Confederation. 1. All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

83. The Constitution Is the Supreme Law of the Land. 2. The Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.[50]

84. All State and Federal Officers Are Bound by Oath to Support the Constitution. 3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE. VII. THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

85. The Constitution Is Established when Nine State Conventions Ratify. 1. The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twelfth In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

Go Washington—Presidt
and deputy from Virginia

Attest William Jackson Secretary

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[49] A temporary clause.

[50] In case of conflict between federal and state Constitutions and laws, the order of descending authority is: Constitution of the United States, laws and treaties of the United States; constitution of the states, laws of the states, ordinances of cities and towns. If a federal law and treaty conflict, the one more recently enacted or ratified, holds.

New Hampshire

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut

Wm. Saml. Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil: Livingston
David Brearley
Wm. Paterson
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania

B Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robt Morris
Geo. Clymer
Thos. FitzSimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouv Morris

Delaware

Geo: Read
Gunning Bedford jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco: Broom

Maryland

James McHenry
Dan of St Thos. Jenifer
Danl Carroll

Virginia

John Blair—
James Madison Jr.

North Carolina

Wm. Blount
Richd. Dobbs Spaight.
Hu Williamson

South Carolina

J. Rutledge
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler.

Georgia

William Few
Abr Baldwin

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMENDMENT I RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM[51]

86. Congress Must not Interfere with Freedom of Religion, Speech or Press. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion,[52] or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press;[53] or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

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[51] The first ten amendments, proclaimed in effect late in 1791, are restrictions on the federal government. These ten amendments are termed the Bill of Rights, although only the first eight guarantee specific rights to the people.

[52] As far as the federal government is concerned, the separation of church and state is established. But the clause does not restrict state governments from regulating religion, and several states continued with established religions for some years after 1791. Nearly all state constitutions now guarantee religious freedom.

[53] In practice this clause does not mean absolute freedom to speak without thought of the effect of one's speech. For example, one may be held accountable for malicious intent.

AMENDMENT II RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

87. Congress Must Not Deny the States a Militia. A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms,[54] shall not be infringed.

AMENDMENT III QUARTERING SOLDIERS

88. Congress Must not Quarter Soldiers on the People.[55] No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT IV SEARCHES AND SEIZURES

89. Federal Officials Must not Authorize Unreasonable Searches. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.[56]

AMENDMENT V RIGHTS IN CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

90. Federal Courts Must not Violate Certain Rights of the People. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment[57] of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,[58] nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI RIGHTS IN CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

91. Federal Courts Must Guarantee Certain Rights to the Accused. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

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[54] The original intent of this clause was to protect the states against a possible tyranny of the federal government. State laws now regulate the use of firearms.

[55] This is an ancient English grievance and is found among the grievances in the Declaration of Independence.

[56] Again, a long-standing grievance brought on by royal tyranny. In colonial times writs of assistance violated the letter of the right here demanded.

[57] Indictment is the finding of the grand jury, in the form of a written accusation, that there is probable cause for trial of the accused.

[58] A similar restriction is placed on the state governments in the Fourteenth Amendment [100]. Thus the Constitution strongly guards property rights against encroachment by either state or federal government. "Due process of law" implies a fair trial—one that hears before it condemns—under the rules established for judicial proceedings. This does not necessarily mean trial by jury.

AMENDMENT VII RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY

92. Federal Courts Must Guarantee Jury Trial in Civil Suits. In Suits at common law,[59] where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT VIII EXCESSIVE BAIL, FINES AND PUNISHMENT

93. Federal Courts Must Avoid Excesses. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.[60]

AMENDMENT IX UNENUMERATED RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

94. The Federal Government Exercises no Power over the Unenumerated Rights of the People. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT X POWERS RESERVED TO STATES OR PEOPLE

95. All Undelegated Powers Remain with the States or the People. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.[61]

AMENDMENT XI (1798) SUITS AGAINST STATES

96. A State Cannot Be Sued by a Citizen of Another State. The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.[62]

AMENDMENT XII (1804) ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

97. Changes Are Made in the Manner of Electing the President and Vice President.[63] The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for

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[59] This guarantee applies to "suits at common law." Common law is, briefly, a set of *judicial usages* that began to develop in mediæval England without the authority of parliamentary legislation. Brought to America by the colonists, courts continued to use it along with statutory law (legislative acts) and constitutional law or the highest law. Amendment VI [91] guarantees jury trial in federal *criminal* cases.

[60] Again, an excellent example of the fear of the tyranny of government which the people had learned in their past struggles for liberty.

[61] Under this very important amendment the greater part of governmental power remains with the states, where it had originally been. Education and the control of crime are two examples of undelegated power remaining with the states.

[62] This modifies Clause 1, Section 2, Article III [69], over which a difference of opinion arose. This amendment is intended to protect the independence of the states, and was necessitated by a suit brought against the State of Georgia by a citizen of South Carolina.

[63] Supersedes Article II, Section 1, Clause 3 [57] and was adopted as a result of the Jefferson-Burr tie for the Presidency in 1800. Three changes are made: (1) provisions for separate ballots; (2) number of candidates eligible for consideration by House and Senate in event no candidate receives a majority vote in the Electoral College; and (3) provision on eligibility of Vice President, previously omitted.

President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;[64]—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, [*before the fourth day of March next following*],[65] then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

AMENDMENT XIII (1865) FREEDOM FOR THE SLAVES

Section 1. Slavery Prohibited

98. There Shall Be no Slavery in the United States. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.[66]

Section 2. Power of Enforcement

99. Congress Has Power of Enforcement. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XIV (1868) CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGROES

Section 1. Citizenship

100. Who Are Citizens, and What Are Their Rights? All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.[67] No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;

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[64] See [58], note.

[65] Changed by Amendment XX to "noon on the 20th day of January" [116].

[66] This amendment abolished slavery in the States of Delaware and Kentucky. Federal and state action had previously emancipated the slaves in the other states and territories.

[67] Note the provision for dual citizenship.

nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,[68] nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Reduction of Representation

101. States Denying Male Suffrage Shall Have Their Representation Reduced.[69] Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed.[70] But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. Loss of Political Privileges

102. Many Southern Leaders Are Disqualified for Federal and State Offices. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. Public Debt

103. The War Debt of the Confederacy Is not Payable. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. Enforcement

104. Congress Has Power of Enforcement. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

AMENDMENT XV (1870) POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGROES

Section 1. Right to Vote

105. The Negro Is Made a Voter. The right of citizens of the United States to

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[68] This clause extends to the states a restriction already placed on Congress [90]. Intended in part for the protection of the Negro, in time it resulted largely in increased power of the federal judiciary over the states, as state laws regulating corporations and their actions were declared in conflict with this clause. Many corporations, but few Negroes, have brought suit under this clause.

[69] This section and the next two represent congressional effort to punish the South for its participation in the War between the States. Section 2 has not been enforced.

[70] This provision supersedes Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 [5].

vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.[71]

Section 2. Enforcement

106. Congress Has Power of Enforcement. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XVI (1913) INCOME TAX

107. Congress May Levy Income Taxes without Apportionment. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.[72]

AMENDMENT XVII (1913) POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS

108. Senators Are Elected Directly by the People. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof,[73] for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

109. Vacancies Are Acted upon by the State Governor. 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

110. This Change Does not Affect the Senators in Office. 3. [*This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.*][74]

AMENDMENT XVIII (1919) NATIONAL PROHIBITION

Section 1. Prohibition of Liquor Traffic

111. The Manufacture, Sale or Transportation of Intoxicating Liquors for Beverage Purposes Is Prohibited. [*After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.*][75]

Section 2. Enforcement

112. Congress and the States Have Concurrent Power of Enforcement. [*The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*]

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[71] Note that voting privileges shall not be denied for three specific reasons. A state may, and nearly all do, set up other qualifications for voting.

[72] Modifies Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 [5].

[73] Supersedes Article I, Section 3, Clause 1 [8].

[74] A temporary provision only.

[75] Under this clause the amendment was put into operation in 1920, but repealed 13 years later by Amendment XXI [122-24].

Section 3. Conditions of Ratification

113. Amendment Must Be Ratified within Seven Years. [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.*][76]

AMENDMENT XIX (1920) WOMAN SUFFRAGE

114. Women Are Made Voters. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

115. Congress Has Power of Enforcement. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XX (1933) COMMENCEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL TERMS

Section 1. End of Congressional and Presidential Terms

116. Terms of President, Vice President and Congressmen Begin in January of Specific Odd Years. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.[77]

Section 2. Regular Congressional Sessions

117. Congress Assembles January 3d of Each Year. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.[78]

Section 3. Congress Provides for Acting President

118. Congress Provides by Law for Failure of President to Qualify in Time. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.[79]

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[76] A temporary clause and the first amendment to have a time limitation on the period of its ratification.

[77] Supersedes a clause in Amendment XII [97], note.

[78] Supersedes Article I, Section 4, Clause 2 [16]. This and the previous provision have given rise to the term, "Lame Duck" Amendment. Under the original provision [16], a defeated Senator or Representative served in the final session from December until March 4. Thus for four months following election he represented his state or district after having been rejected by the voters. Because of his defeat, lack of interest in or considerable absence from the session sometimes resulted. Occasionally he used his vote corruptly, but more frequently he went limping to the President for an appointive office. For these reasons he was called a "lame duck."

[79] This and the next provision strengthen Amendment XII [97].

Section 4. Congress Has Power over Unusual Elections

119. When the Election Goes to Either House, Congress Provides by Law if Death Intervenes among Eligible Candidates. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Date in Effect

120. Amendment Is Effective in October Following Ratification. [*Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.*][80]

Section 6. Conditions of Ratification

121. Amendment Must Be Ratified within Seven Years. [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.*][80]

AMENDMENT XXI (1933) REPEAL OF NATIONAL PROHIBITION

Section 1. Repeal

122. The Eighteenth Amendment Is Repealed. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.[81]

Section 2. The Federal Government Protects "Dry" States

123. The Transportation of Intoxicating Liquors into "Dry" States for Use Therein Is Prohibited. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. Conditions of Ratification

124. Amendment Must Be Ratified by State Conventions within Seven Years.[82] [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.*][80]

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[80] A temporary clause.

[81] Like other superseded parts, Amendment XVIII [111-12] becomes merely an historical provision of the Constitution.

[82] This is the first amendment to be submitted to *conventions* in the states, although the original Constitution was ratified by conventions [85]. Like Amendments XVIII and XX, the time for ratification is limited to seven years.

APPENDIX II

Some Significant Events in American History

1492 American islands discovered by Columbus.
1519-22 Magellan expedition sails around the world.
1607 Jamestown founded.
1612 Tobacco culture started by James Rolfe in Jamestown.
1619 First shipment of slaves arrived in Virginia; House of Burgesses established.
1620 Pilgrims founded Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts; Mayflower Compact.
1628 Puritan migrations to New England began; Salem founded.
1630 Puritans founded Boston in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
1636 Harvard College founded; Roger Williams established religious freedom in Rhode Island.
1643 New England Confederation.
1647 Massachusetts General School Law.
1649 Maryland Toleration Act.
1664 New York became an English colony.
1681 Pennsylvania founded.
1682 La Salle claimed Mississippi Valley for France.
1688 The Glorious Revolution in England.
1689 English Bill of Rights.
1754 Albany Plan of Union; French and Indian War began.
1759 Battle of Quebec.
1763 French and Indian War ended
1765 Stamp Act Congress.
1774 First Continental Congress.
1775 Battles of Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill; Second Continental Congress; Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.
1776 Declaration of Independence.
1777 Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga; Washington's army winters at Valley Forge.
1778 French Alliance.
1781 Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown; Articles of Confederation ratified.
1783 Treaty of Paris ending Revolutionary War; beginning of "Critical Period."
1785 Church and State separated in Virginia.
1787 Northwest Ordinance; Constitutional Convention.
1789 Constitution in effect; George Washington became first president; Judiciary Act passed.
1791 Bill of Rights or first 10 Amendments added to Constitution; political parties grew; Slater's spinning machinery; first United States Bank.
1793 Neutrality Proclamation; Whitney's cotton gin.
1796 Washington's Farewell Address.
1800 Republicans defeat Federalists in national elections.

1801 John Marshall became Chief Justice of Federal Supreme Court; Thomas Jefferson became third president.
1803 Louisiana Purchase.
1807 Fulton's steamboat, *The Clermont*; Embargo Act.
1812 War with England began.
1814 War with England ended; Hartford Convention.
1816 First protective tariff; Second United States Bank.
1817 Erie Canal begun; Rush-Bagot agreement.
1819 Acquisition of Florida.
1820 Missouri Compromise.
1821 First free public high school; Troy Seminary pioneered in higher education for women.
1823 Monroe Doctrine.
1828 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad begun.
1829 Andrew Jackson elected seventh President.
1832 Nullification controversy; Jackson's war on the United States Bank.
1834 McCormick's reaper patented.
1837 Panic.
1839 Beginning of normal schools; Goodyear's process for vulcanizing rubber.
1842 Maine boundary determined by Webster-Ashburton Treaty.
1844 Telegraph commercially successful.
1845 Texas annexed.
1846 Mexican War begun; Oregon Cession; first successful operation on etherized patient; Howe's sewing machine invented.
1848 End of Mexican War; Mexican Cession; Woman's Rights Convention.
1849 California Gold Rush.
1850 Compromise on slavery.
1853 Perry opened Japan; Gadsden Purchase rounding out southwest border.
1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act; Republican party formed.
1857 Dred Scott Decision.
1858 Lincoln-Douglas Debates.
1859 John Brown's Raid; oil struck in Pennsylvania.
1860 Abraham Lincoln elected President; secession of South Carolina.
1861 War between the States began.
1862 Battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia*; Homestead Act, Morrill Act; Emancipation Proclamation.
1863 Battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg; National Bank Act passed.
1865 Appomattox and close of the War between the States; Amendment XIII.
1866 First transatlantic cable.
1867 Patrons of Husbandry or Granger movement began; Alaska purchased.
1869 Knights of Labor organized; Union Pacific Railroad completed; steel plow.
1876 Bell's telephone; disputed presidential election.
1877 First great railroad strike; Selden's automobile.
1883 Pendleton Civil Service Act.
1886 American Federation of Labor organized.
1887 Inter-State Commerce Act passed.
1889 Department of Agriculture established; Pan-American Union founded.
1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act; Sherman Silver Purchase Act.
1894 Pullman strike.
1895 Venezuela Boundary Dispute began.

1896 Populist program defeated in presidential election; first motion pictures shown in New York.
1897 High Dingley Tariff Act passed.
1898 Spanish-American War; Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Philippines acquired.
1900 Open Door Policy introduced.
1901 First wireless signal from Europe to America.
1902 Initiative and referendum introduced in Oregon; Venezuela Debt Affair.
1903 Wright brothers successful heavier-than-air craft; revolution in Panama.
1904 Theodore Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine; first great trust dissolved by Supreme Court.
1906 Hepburn Rate Act; Meat Inspection and Pure Food and Drugs Act; "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan.
1908 Governor's Conference on Conservation.
1912 Progressive Movement; election of Woodrow Wilson.
1913 Federal Reserve and Federal Trade Acts passed; Amendment XVII.
1914 First World War began.
1916 Adamson Eight-Hour Day Act.
1917 United States entered First World War.
1918 Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points; First World War Armistice.
1919 Treaty of Versailles.
1920 Amendment XIX; first radio broadcasting station; League of Nations established.
1922 Washington Naval Treaty; first session of World Court.
1927 Lindbergh's New York-Paris flight.
1929 Great Depression began; Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris.
1932 Election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
1933 Amendment XXI; Soviet Union recognized; New Deal programs begun.
1934 Reciprocal Tariffs Act; Philippine Independence Act.
1935 First major Neutrality Act; Social Security Act; National Labor Relations Act.
1936 Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act.
1939 Second World War began.
1940 Selective Training and Service Acts.
1941 Lease-Lend Act; Attack on Pearl Harbor; United States entered Second World War.

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APPENDIX III

A List of Books

J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, Little Brown, N. Y., 1931.
F. L. Allen, *Only Yesterday*, Harper, N. Y., 1931.
F. L. Allen, *Since Yesterday*, Harper, N. Y., 1940.
J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, Macmillan, N. Y., 1939.
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C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, Houghton-Mifflin, N. Y., 1929.
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W. E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, Macmillan, N. Y., 1937.
H. J. Ford, *The Cleveland Era*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, Parts One and Two, EM-270.
W. L. Fleming, *The Sequel to Appomattox*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
R. E. Keohane, M. P. Keohane, J. D. McGoldrick, *American Government*, EM-215, EM-216, and EM-217.
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H. Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
J. Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
J. Moody, *The Masters of Capital*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
S. P. Orth, *The Armies of Labor*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
S. P. Orth, *The Boss and the Machine*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
H. W. Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
H. W. Stephenson, *The Day of the Confederacy*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.
M. Sullivan, *Our Times*, I-VI, Scribner, N. Y., 1935.
W. Wood, *Captains of the Civil War*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut. 1921.

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Key to Exercises and Reviews

See instructions in Paragraph 2 under Study Procedures in Introduction, How to Use This Book.

Chapter I

A: 1,b(4,14,15); 2,a(7,14,18); 3,b,c(13,19); 4,a,b,c(13,14); 5,c(12).

B: 1,T(1); 2,T(1); 3,F(1); 4,T(1); 5,T(2); 6,F(2); 7,T(3); 8,T(4); 9,F(4); 10,F(5); 11,T(8); 12,F(8).

C: a,10(11); b,6(16); c,9(12-13); d,1(14); e,11(15); f,12(7); g,3(4); h,5(11); i,4(7-11); j,2(17); k,8(5); l,7(19).

D: 1,OA, The only question before the Supreme Court was whether or not the federal circuit court had followed the proper procedure in its hearing of the case; OD, Lincoln, Seward and others believed the Decision "erroneous" (15,16,19,20,21); 2,T(19); 3,T(14); 4,F(20); 5,T(2,5,14); 6,OA, People brought up in an environment where slavery existed would regard slavery as natural; OD, Our fundamental political belief is, "that all men are created equal . . . with certain unalienable rights . . . Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." (6); 7,T(6); 8,OA, Our fundamental political philosophy holds true here; 9,F(18); 10,T(18,19); 11,OA(6), Strong supporters of states' rights argued that anti-slave sentiment was misinformed and contended, with the support of the Dred Scott Decision, that slavery was a state matter; 12,OA, southern Negroes have a low living standard; OD, The Negro is a citizen and is entitled to the same rights and benefits as are other citizens.

E: 1,Y(2); 2,Y(2); 3,N(0); 4,N(4); 5,Y(2); 6,Y(2,6,7,9-13); 7,N(2); 8,N(8); 9,N(11); 10,N(12,13); 11,Y(1); 12,N(12,15,16).

Chapter II

A: 1,b(2); 2,a,b(2); 3,b(7); 4,a,c(20); 5,b,c(18); 6,c(19); 7,a,b,c(4,16).

B: a,10(12); b,7,13(12); c,8(9); d,9(10); e,1(1); f,4,11(12); g,2,6,12(10,14); h,0(1); i,5(4); j,2(13); k,7(12); l,5(4); m,14(10); n,6(14); o,3(13).

C: 1,2: Florida, I; Tennessee, L; Maryland, C.; Alabama, J; Virginia, D.; Georgia, H; Missouri, P.; Mississippi, K.; South Carolina, G.; Kentucky, M.; Louisiana, N.; West Virginia, E.; Texas, Q; Pennsylvania, A; Arkansas, O; North Carolina, F; Delaware, B.

C: 4: a,1; b,2; c,4; d,5; e,6; f,7; g,8; h,9; i,10; j,11; k,3; l,12; m,13; n, 14; o,15; p,16; q,17.

D: 1,T(15); 2,F(3); 3,F(1,3,4,15); 4,T(4); 5,O(12); 6,O(13); 7,T(6); 8,T(14); 9,F(15); 10,T(15); 11,O(13); 12,O(15).

E: c(10),d(9),g(11),h(10),i(11),j(13),l(12),m(13,14),n(14).

Chapter III

A: a,5(7); b,7(3,4); c,12(7); d,9(7); e,11(12); f,10(11); g,8(1); h,3(4); i,2(1); j,6(13); k,4(5); l,1(7).
B: 1,b(1); 2,a,b(2); 3,a,b(3,4,5); 4,b,c(3); 5,a,b,c(3); 6,a,b,c(5); 7,c(6); 8,b,c(5); 9,a,c(5); 10,a,b(7); 11,a,b,c(8); 12,b,c(10).
C: 1,T(10); 2,T(12); 3,O(10); 4,O(3-6); 5,T(13); 6,F(6); 7,O(4,5); 8,O(5); 9,O(8); 10,T(8); 11,F(12); 12,T(12).
D: 1,Y(1); 2,N(1); 3,N(2); 4,Y(7); 5,Y(5,7); 6,Y(6); 7,N(4,5); 8,N(3); 9,Y(7); 10,N(12).

Chapter IV

A: 1,c(3); 2,a,b(4); 3,b(4); 4,a,b,c(7); 5,a,c(8,10,11); 6,a,b,c(10,11); 7,a,b,c(9,10).
B: a,4(9); b,7(6); c,6(8); d,10(3); e,2(8,9); f,1(10); g,5(4); h,3(11); i,8(3); j,0(0).
C: 1,T(4-6); 2,O,NI(0); 3,O,NI(0); 4,T(6,9); 5,F(10); 6,T(11); 7,T(11); 8,F(3); 9,O(3).
D: 3(4-6); 5(10-11); 6(3); 8(10).

Half-Course Review and Self-Check

A: a,8(I,5); b,6(I,15); c,10(I,1); d,13(II,10); e,12(I,11); f,11(II,14); g,2(III,6); h,1(I,4); i,15(IV,2,11); j,9(III,9); k,14(III,3); l,5(I,17); m,3(I,12); n,4(II,10,III,19, IV,4); o,7(II,1).
B: 1,a(I,2); 2,b,c(I,4); 3,b,c(I,14,19); 4,a,b,c(I,12); 5,c(I,10); 6,b,c(I,9,13,14,II,1-4); 7,c (II,15); 8,c(II,12); 9,b(III,5); 10,a,c(II,6,7); 11,b,c(IV,4,6); 12,a(III,7); 13,a,b(III, 4,5); 14,a(IV,1-3); 15,a,b(IV,8-11).
C: 1,T(IV,3,7); 2,F(III,4,5,IV,1); 3,F(II,4,5); 4,O(III,3); 5,O(I,9-13); 6,T(I,1,4,16); 7,T(IV,13); 8,T(IV,3,7,8).

Chapter V

A: 1,a,b(4); 2,b(4); 3,c(4); 4,a,b(5); 5,a,b,c(5); 6,a,b(5); 7,a,b,c(8); 8,a,b,c(8),
B: 1,b,c(1); 2,a,c(2); 3,b,c(3); 4,a,b,c(5); 5,a,b(5); 6,c(7); 7,a,b,c(6,7,8); 8,a,c(8); 9,a,b(9).
C: 1,O,NI(0); 2,T(2); 3,O,NI(0); 4,F(7-8); 5,T(7); 6,O,NI(0); 7,O(7-8); 8,O(9); 9,F(9); 10,T(9).
D: ①(1), 2(2), ③(3) 4(4), ⑤(4), ⑥(5), ⑦(7), ⑧(7), 9(8), 10(8), 11(7), ⑫(7), 13(13), ⑭(7,8), ⑮(5).

Chapter VI

A: a,[illegible]3); b,6(7); c,10(12); d,9(14); e,11(12); f,1(3); g,12(2); h,2(8); i,3(5); j,4(7); k,7(8); l,8(2).
B: 1,a,b(1); 2,b,c(2-3); 3,b(3); 4,a,b,c(13); 5,b,c(4-5); 6,a,c(6-7); 7,a,b,c(8-11); 8,a,c (12-13).
C: 1,T(5); 2,O,NI(0); 3,T(2); 4,F(3); 5,T(2); 6,O(3); 7,O,NI(7-11); 8,T(7); 9,F(6); 10,F(8-10,14); 11,T(14); 12,F(14).
D: 1(1-3), 4(5), 6(6), 7(11), 9(13), 11(13).

Chapter VII

A: a,7(8); b,10(3); c,6(3); d,1(1,8); e,12(5); f,2(6); g,11(6); h,3(2); i,8(5); j,4(6); k,5(1); l,9(3).

B: 1, La Follette (3); 2, presidential preferential (3); 3, initiative (3); 4, referendum (3); 5, recall (4); 6, conservative (4); 7, Susan B. Anthony (6); 8, West (6); 9, First World War (6); 10, Harding (8); 11, Republican (8).

C: 1,0(1); 2,T(2); 3,F(2); 4,T(2); 5,T(3,4,6); 6,O(4); 7,O(4); 8,F(5); 9,O,NI(0); 10,T(9); 11,T(9).

D: 2(2); 3,(3); 7(6); 8(8); 10(5).

Chapter VIII

A: a,10(11); b,8(3); c,1(4); d,9(2); e,7(13); f,7(13); g,2(5); h,7(13); i,5(11); j,4(2).

B: 1,b(1); 2,c(2); 3,a,b(2); 4,a,b(4-7); 5,a,b,c(3); 6,b,c(4,5); 7,b,c(7); 8,a(8-10,11); 9,a,c(15,16); 10,a,c(12); 11,c(13).

C: a,3(4); b,6(4); c,10(5); d,1(2); e,0(0); f,2(4); g,9(4); h,3(4); i,5(4,6); j,8(5); k,0(0); l,7(7).

D: 1,O,NI (0); 2,T(2-5); 3,O(4); 4,F(2); 5,F(1); 6,O,NI(0); 7,O(3-4); 8,T(6); 9,O(6); 10,T(7); 11,T(7); 12,T(14).

E: 1(1), 4(3), 5(4,5), 9(15,16), 10(13), 11(14).

Full Course Review and Self-Check

A: 1,b,a,c(I,8,10,12); 2,c,b,a(I,15,16,19); 3,b,a,c(II,1,2,8); 4,a,b,c(II,9,10,11,13); 5,b,a,c(II,14,15); 6,b,c,a(III,3,5,7,8,12); 7,a,c,b(IV,4-10); 8,c,b,a(IV,3,V,5-8); 9,a,b,c(III,4-7,12,IV,1,2,VI,1,2); 10,b,a,c(VI,5,12,VIII,3).

B: 1,c(III,4,5,6,12); 2,b,c(I,12,13,14,16,19,20); 3,b(I,7-11); 4,b(I,14-16,19); 5,b,c(II,15); 6,b(I,19,VI,8-10,11); 7,a(I,15); 8,a,c(III,5); 9,b,c(IV,1-3,8-11,V,1,5-8,VI,1,5,7-13; 10,b,c(IV,3,V,1,5,6,7,9,VI,7,8,10,VII,1); 11,b(II,14); 12,b,c(VII,3,4,6); 13,a,c(VI,5); 14,c(VII,6); 15,a,c(VIII,3,4,7).

C: 1,b(II,12); 2,b(III,8); 3,a,b,c(IV,4,6); 4,b,d(V,3,VI,12); 5,a,b,d(IV,10,V,7-9,VIII,6); 6,a,b,d(VII,2,3); 7,b,c,d(VI,7,8,VII,7,8,VIII,2); 8,b,c(IV,2,V,2,VI,11); 9,c(VIII,7).

D: 1,T(IV,3,V,5-8,VI,7-10,VII,8,VIII,4); 2,T(I,14); 3,T(I,15,VIII,6-7); 4,O(VIII,6,7); 5,F(I,4-5); 6,O(III,7-8,11,13); 7,T(III,13); 8,F(III,5,12,13); 9,T(III,12,VIII,8); 10,T(IV,4,VII,8); 11,F(IV,10-11); 12,T(IV,10-11,VIII,8-10); 13,T(III,13); 14,F(IV,3,V,5-9,VI,7-2,VII,8); 15,T(VI,3); 16,T(VI,3); 17,T(VI,1,2,6,VIII,1,4,5,14); 18,O(VI,1,2,6,VIII,1,4,5,14); 19,T(III,2,5,IV,3,10,V,1,2,4,5-9,VII,8,9,VIII,1-5); 20,T(II,15,IV,7-11,V,1,2,3,VI,5,6,13,VII,3,5,6,VIII,3,4); 21,O(VIII,4-5); 22,O(IV,3,V,5-9,VI,7-11,14,VII,8,VIII,2); 23,T(VIII,17,18,19); 24,T(VII,2,3); 25,T(III,5,VII,3-5).